

Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World (1472-1598)

By

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Abstract

“Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World (1472-1598)” takes a comparative approach to demonstrate that the printed books at the center of its chapters—*La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesucrist* (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1508), *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540), and a Latin translation of the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598)—possess shared material elements that either evoke or intentionally depart from typographical conventions that characterize a corpus of late fifteenth-century Iberian devotional literature related to Christ’s Passion. Rather than dismiss such repetitions as arbitrary, I propose they are instances of material intertextuality. In this dissertation, material intertextuality accounts for previous reading, viewing, emotive, and recitative experiences related to Christ’s Passion that readers recalled while interacting with early printed books. The use and reuse of materials, decorative elements, and literary content not only within the same volume, but also across printed books, religious art, and liturgy activated memories of such experiences for readers. Reading these texts through material intertextuality reveals the networks of printers and readers who produced and consumed them.

While religious practices such as devotion to a human, suffering Christ arrived later to Iberia compared to other European areas, Iberia sought and maintained vibrant connections to Europe through the cultivation of the printing industry. This dissertation employs case studies of three printed books to recover Iberian imprints’ influential role in the broader European book trade and to highlight occasions when printed books from the Iberian world prompted innovation and creativity on the part of printers in other parts of Europe. As the dissertation moves across generic, linguistic, and geographic boundaries that were more fluid in the late fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, it brings a previously-separated corpus of printed books back into dialogue by means of their material intertexts. In so doing, “Imprints of Devotion” provides an interdisciplinary position from which to examine late medieval and early modern literature as artifacts that teach us about their creators and users.

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Introduction

Printing the Passion: Printers, Devotional Culture, and Material Intertextuality in the Iberian World

Every text is fundamentally an intertext, bound in relations to other texts which are somehow present in it and from which it draws its meaning, value, and function. Lawrence Venuti¹

“Yo no imprimo mis libros para alcanzar fama en el mundo [...] provecho quiero” expostulates the translator-author to Don Quijote during the latter’s visit to a Barcelona printing house (Cervantes 2:555). As the *ingenioso caballero* knew, “las entradas y salidas de los impresores” (Cervantes 2:554), unlike the manuscript copying in medieval monastic scriptoria, answered first to commercial rather than devotional interests, however beneficial were the books’ spiritual contents. And yet, some of the first words that moveable types pressed onto dampened paper were those of scripture. Juan Parix, native of Heidelberg and active in Segovia

¹ The epigraph comes from Venuti, “Translation, Intertextuality, Interpretation” 157.

between 1472 and 1474, established the first printing house in the Corona de Castilla (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 29).² Like other Church leaders in the fifteenth century who intuited the utility of print for disseminating orthodox teaching (Eisenstein, *Divine* 16-17), Juan Arias Dávila, bishop of Segovia, invited Parix and saw to it that the printer's first eight Iberian editions, including Iberia's first printed book the *Sinodal de Aguila fuente* in 1472, would be useful to the city's religious (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 31-32, 37-39). At the end of the fifteenth century, after the conquest of Granada, the newly-installed archbishop Talavera prioritized the founding of a printing house there. The truncated business, run by Meinardo Ungut and Juan Pegnitzer, managed to produce two editions before closing, both religious in character: a translated and emended version of the *Vita Christi* (1496) by Francesc Eiximenis and the *Breve y muy prouechosa doctrina cristiana delo que deue saber todo christiano* ([1496]) by Talavera himself. These two key moments in Iberian incunabular printing history indicate that, finances aside, writers, printers, readers, and hearers of early printed books conceived of the new technology as instrumental to the practice of Catholic devotion.

In the latter years of the fifteenth century, not silent monks or nuns with scratching quills, but rowdy, noisy, and ink-stained compositors, pressmen, beaters, and correctors made religious teaching accessible to a wider, eager, and progressively more literate public in Iberia. Printing and bookselling were certainly businesses, conducted with ever-increasing acumen in response to market demands (Gillespie 15). It is precisely the commercial side of printing that invites a study of devotional literature in the Iberian world in terms of those material objects, the printed books, that conveyed that literature to its public. Were religiously-themed books printed with such

² Notice of an extant witness to Parix's edition of the *Sinodal de Aguila fuentes* was published in the Catedral de Segovia's *Catálogo de incunables* (1930); A. Lambert elaborated this catalogue entry into the widely accepted hypothesis (1931) that situates Parix in Segovia in the early 1470s prior to his activity in Toulouse (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 22-23).

frequency on account of the ideological motives of the new monarchs, Isabel I de Castilla (r. 1474-1504) and Fernando II de Aragón (r. 1474-1516)? Was there some inherent quality of printed books that made them particularly apt for the type of private devotion the queen and her adviser-confessors Hernando de Talavera and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros promoted? Why, when printing non-religious material, did some printers retain the visual codes they employed for sacred imprints? And how did frequent referencing of Passion-centered imagery in non-devotional printed books influence devotional and reading practices in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century? This dissertation approaches these questions by bringing forward the central roles of printers, including foreign-born printers, in the development of devotional and reading practices in the Iberian world. The study is temporally bounded by the introduction of print to Iberia by Parix in 1472 and by the date of Theodor de Bry's Latin edition (Frankfurt, 1598) of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, chosen to close the cycle of confluence of Iberian literature and European printing networks examined in the dissertation. As print shops were established across Europe, Iberia imported not only the technology, but, more significantly, the itinerant master printers and journeymen as well as the religious paradigms they brought with them. Works of devotion said to encourage affective meditation on the Passion in the late Middle Ages entered Iberian book markets not only because of religious reforms during Isabel I de Castilla's and Fernando II de Aragón's reign; as Clive Griffin (*The Crombergers of Seville*) and Felipe Pereda (*Imágenes de la discordia*) show, they also arrived and became more widely disseminated due to the printers who crafted the imprints that delivered this devotional mode to Iberian households.

Religious books were foremost among those printed, read, and owned in Iberia. In their studies of sixteenth-century readers and editions, F. J. Norton, Sara T. Nalle, and Manuel Peña

Díaz find further salient links between print and religious devotion. Nineteen percent of the 1,307 editions that Norton studies in Spain from the first two decades of the sixteenth century were non-official religious texts such as devotional works, saints' lives, and writings of the Church fathers (*Printing* 126). Nalle reports that lay and poorer readers favored devotional material. In Cuenca, "of the ninety-five religious books not destined for professional use by the clergy (books on theology, liturgy, canon law or Scripture), nearly two-thirds were contemplative or instructional religious tracts" (Nalle 86). In Barcelona, nobles' libraries as well as those of the professional classes included more religious-themed books than those of other genres (Peña Díaz, *Laberinto* 335). To judge from their recorded comments in Inquisition documents and from any books they reported owning, these readers and listeners preferred religious books above all and, consequently, employed reading primarily as an act of devotion (Nalle 86).

Given the close connection between print and religion in the early years of the European printing industry, this dissertation will apply the study of print culture to Iberian literature printed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in order to trace how devotional and non-devotional printed books employed visual programs related to the Passion and, in so doing, led readers of Passion accounts, chivalric fiction, and narratives of violence in the Americas to engage in reading practices of contemplation and identification with sufferers. The works considered literature and favored by readers at that time, as Keith Whinnom notes, need not coincide with twentieth- (or twenty-first-) century conceptions of the western European literary canon ("Problem" 189). Foreign-born printers brought extra-Iberian visual programs and canons of literature with them to their new homes. Iberian printers engaged in the networks established by craftspeople from Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and France, combining imported technology

with autochthonous vernacular texts. The sheer number of editions of certain devotional books, the only criterion that Whinnom deems useful in determining which books were best-received (“Problem” 191), suggests that Iberian purchasers were pleased by the printers’ book-making strategies. My dissertation proposes that an assessment of certain works of non-devotional literature, such as chivalric novels and the *Brevísima*, should take into account that these books were created with similarities to devotional books, likenesses that made them familiar and appealing to a public that favored religious reading material.

Such a reading must analyze witnesses to the early printed books themselves and incorporate observations and applications of the books’ materiality. Book history has inherited attentiveness to books as objects from those bibliographers who examined and catalogued descriptions of vast numbers of early printed books and their decorative apparatus. Bibliographical studies gained momentum, but did not originate, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and often include meticulous enumerations of printed books’ components (McKenzie 9). The works of Konrad Haebler, Francisco Vindel, Norton, and, most recently, Alexander S. Wilkinson and his colleagues (*Iberian Books*) are particularly relevant contributions for scholars of early Iberian bibliography. Book history as a discipline now recognizes the need to incorporate analyses of conditions outside of imprints’ material composition. However, the precise information gathered in these descriptive catalogues and the example of bibliographers who invested the time to study in person multiple exemplars and editions remain essential guides for book studies in the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin (*L’Apparition du livre*), Roger Chartier, and Robert Darnton extended book history’s scope by situating book objects within networks of producers and receptors. For Darnton, book history is concerned with “how ideas were transmitted through

print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years” (65). His model of the “communications circuit” highlights the roles of those who shape and are shaped by books: authors, publishers, printers, suppliers of materials, shippers, book sellers, and readers (Darnton 68). In addition, it reminds us of social, economic, political, legal, and intellectual factors in the book industry (68). Elizabeth Eisenstein (*The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*) directed scholars’ consideration to imprints’ essential differences from their manuscript predecessors as well as print’s role in the formation and permanence of humanist, legal, and scientific knowledge through her hypothesis of the printed word’s fixity.³ Printed books, as Eisenstein proposed, led people to think in qualitatively different and more ordered ways, with increased stability, and more effective organization. These thinking patterns were previously inaccessible, as Eisenstein insisted, given the untidiness and changeability of manuscripts. Her ideas have since been revisited, notably by Adrian Johns and David McKitterick, but Eisenstein’s work is seminal due to the attention she drew to printed books and the productive work that can be done when they are analyzed not as isolated bibliographical objects, but as influencing and influenced by their cultural *milieux*.

Johns (*The Nature of the Book*) added nuance to our understanding of print and scientific thought, challenging notions of fixity as an inherent characteristic of printed materials and demonstrating that qualities such as fixity or universality came to be attributed to printed books through the dedicated, intentional labor of those who produced them. D. F. McKenzie (*Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*) characterizes book history by what bibliographers do, in addition to what they study: “[B]ibliographers should be concerned to show that forms effect meaning” in such a way that they “describe not only the technical but the social processes of

³ Eisenstein deemphasizes manuscripts’ contemporaneous circulation with printed books; Fernando J. Bouza Álvarez’s and McKitterick’s studies demonstrate that manuscript texts continued to circulate alongside imprints.

their transmission” (13). These scholars have contributed to book history’s focus on printed books as “made” objects and, simultaneously, as signs of those who produced them. Studies on the history of books now recognize the status of printed books as ongoing products of multiple contributors, as McKitterick (*Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*) indicates: “We may call books artefacts; but in so doing we should also remind ourselves of the humanity of their making, and be careful to distinguish how their artefactual nature is the creation of a group of individuals” (139). Other twenty-first-century scholarship continues to orient and re-orient book studies toward interdisciplinary approaches. Leslie Howsam (*Old Books and New Histories*) conceives of the history of the book through a triangular model that incorporates literary studies, history, and bibliography. Johanna Drucker has raised “the need to let go of the object-centered approach that is at the heart of book history” (12). She urges book scholars to conceive of the book as “*a distributed object, not a thing, but a set of intersecting events, material conditions, and activities*” (12, emphasis original). Anne Coldiron’s study (*Printers without Borders*) introduces a final theoretical position central to this dissertation: that book history spans contemporary disciplinary, geographic, and linguistic divisions.

“Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World (1472-1598)” takes a comparative approach to demonstrate that, while produced in varying temporal, linguistic, geographical contexts, the printed books at the center of each of its three chapters –*La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesucrist* (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1508), *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540), and a Latin translation of the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598)– possess shared material elements that either evoke or intentionally depart from typographical conventions that characterize a corpus of late fifteenth-century Iberian devotional literature related to Christ’s Passion. The

concept of material intertextuality serves to track these allusions or departures. Venuti speaks to the dual prerequisites of intertextuality: “The reader must possess not only the literary or cultural knowledge to recognize the presence of one text in another, but also the critical competence to formulate the significance of the intertextual relation” (“Translation” 157-58). Although intertextuality has been habitually understood in terms of literary allusions among texts, studies of intertextuality that incorporate material elements have also been explored, particularly in the context of compilations of manuscript and printed texts. Steven E. Jones discusses this more open understanding of “material intertextuality” as “a kind of network of meanings to be realized within very particular architectures –including the embodiment of writing, and readers as well as authors (and others)” (240). Jeffrey T. Knight (*Bound to Read*) studies the binding and (re)assembly of individual texts within composite volumes in early modern England through “proximate” or “material intertextuality,” which he defines as “an intertextuality based on physical rather than purely discursive proximity” (16).⁴ While these concepts have been brought to bear on composite books and especially in the realm of English language literature, work remains to be done to develop and apply material intertextuality in the context of late medieval and early modern printed books and devotional culture in the Iberian world.

In my dissertation, I employ material intertextuality as a means to account for previous reading, viewing, emotive, and recitative experiences related to Christ’s Passion that readers brought to mind while interacting with early printed books. The use and reuse of materials, decorative elements, and textual content not only within the same volume, but also across printed books and in other media such as religious art and liturgy activated memories of such experiences for readers. These experiential allusions may have been intentionally constructed by

⁴ Allison Machlis Meyer applies proximate intertextuality to her study of textual representations of religious alterity in a composite volume (“Constructing Islam in an Early Modern Anthology”).

writers, printers, or readers. Rather than treating imprints' material and textual content separately, divisions explored in depth by Gérard Genette (*Seuils*), material intertextuality integrates the material and literary aspects of printed books. It also recognizes that devotional activities beyond reading, such as attending Mass and contemplating religious artifacts, conditioned and shaped reading practices of devotional as well as non-devotional books. The material intertexts analyzed in this dissertation offer a means of activating Drucker's proposal that book scholars cultivate "a different conception of artifacts (books, documents, works of textual or graphic art), one in which reception *is* production and therefore all materiality is subject to performative engagement within varied, and specific, conditions of encounter" (12-13, emphasis original). The frame of material intertextuality participates in the work of moving the discipline's conception of books toward event spaces, and it serves to join printed books, printers, and readers in a network of shared cultural allusions and patterns.

In addition to examining the use and reuse of material elements and visual programs over time, material intertextuality as constructed throughout this dissertation proposes that typographical components traditionally considered paratexts may be more productively studied in conjunction with, rather than isolated from, books' literary content. My dissertation develops material intertextuality as a theoretical framework to study readers' likely interpretations of allusions to experiences created by the material aspects and the literary content of printed books. I consider the allusions created by the reuse of xylographic blocks, ornamental materials, border pieces, or types in terms of material intertext, rather than paratext, the category under which Genette groups illustrations, titles, and other components exterior to the narrative content itself. This choice affirms my dissertation's position that the elements that make up the *mise-en-page* of printed books –titles, subtitles, layout of text blocks, illustrations, borders, compartments, or

captions— and the allusions made to extra-textual experiences are as necessary to interpretive work as what Genette calls “le texte proprement dit” (*Palimpsestes* 9). Michael Camille has illustrated how word and image operated interdependently in printed books: “The print medium creates less of a rift between image and text than occurs in manuscript illumination” for “the image has the same black and white structure as the word” (“Reading” 281, 283). Isidro J. Rivera extends Camille’s observations and shows that printing conditioned how readers engaged printed folios: “As a result of this new practice, readers were invited to process images and words as one integrated unit on the page” (“Performance” 8). Printers designed the visual and textual elements of printed leaves to function in terms of each other and to be read simultaneously, or in a way that humans perceive as simultaneous. Susan Hagan’s research on the interaction and interconnectedness of printed text and images sheds light on how vision works when perceiving a visual plane: “Individuals might believe that they see the whole scene all at once, but they actually must focus and refocus to accomplish that goal. The speed with which they do this makes it seem as if sight takes place all at once. [...] Because individuals cannot see all at once, they see actively” (59). Readers of devotional imprints actively inserted themselves into the scenes described therein. This active imagining mirrors the active seeing of word and image Hagan describes. Moreover, as I maintain, readers actively related the materiality of the printed book they held with experiences of reading, viewing, pronouncing, and feeling compassion or pity that the book referenced intertextually.

W. J. T. Mitchell’s thoughts on “imagetext” clarify the interconnectedness of text and image on the printed page. Mitchell (*Picture Theory*) favors a dialectical relationship between the verbal and the visual over a model that poses them as two parallel, but ultimately separate, entities. Mitchell explains imagetext as a critical concept that “designates composite, synthetic

works (or concepts) that combine image and text” (89 n. 9). Some years later, again reflecting on imagetext, Mitchell refines his definition: “[it is] the name of a recurrent gap or structural relationship among symbolic practices, a trope that signals a boundary or fold in the field of representation” (Wiesenthal, Bucknell, and Mitchell 16). My dissertation builds upon Mitchell’s and Hagan’s models as it explores intersections of word and image not only within, but also across imprints.

Julia Kristeva (“Le mot, le dialogue et le roman”) was one of the first to theorize “intertextualité.” She departs from Mikhail Bakhtin’s “conception selon laquelle le ‘mot littéraire’ n’est pas un *point* (un sens fixe), mais un *croisement de surfaces* textuelles, un dialogue de plusieurs écritures : de l’écrivain, du destinataire (ou du personnage), du contexte culturel actuel ou antérieur” (144, emphasis original). Kristeva modifies Bakhtin’s ideas with the parenthetical insertion of “texte” following “mot” when she writes: “le mot (le texte) est un croisement de mots (de textes) où on lit au moins un autre mot (texte)” (145). In the context of this dissertation, Kristeva’s addition of “texte” becomes a way to shift “intertextualité” from literary discourse to a broader range of textual products and practices. In this way, Kristeva’s understanding of intertextuality as the “croisement[s] de surfaces textuelles” aptly fits not only printed books’ narrative, instructional, or devotional content, but also their implicit or explicit allusions to previous imprints, their printers, and readers’ experiences through their materiality.

In the case of the “symbolic practices” (Wiesenthal, Bucknell, and Mitchell 16) of image-based devotion, material intertextuality, as evinced in the imagetexts of printed books, may be traced in both devotional imprints and in visually- and ideologically-related non-devotional imprints. This dissertation understands image-based devotion to include both printed illustrations and descriptions in imprints that encourage readers to visualize what the text describes. As

Hagan explains, “visual/verbal collaboration is most useful because images and text contain complementary differences that produce synergistic effects” (58). My work also extends Mitchell’s and Hagan’s work to encompass extra-bibliographical experiences from the late medieval and early modern Iberian world. Rather than dismiss repetitions or allusions as arbitrary, I suggest that instances of material intertextuality disclose how printers perceived their own roles in the production of printed books and the connective or disjunctive relationships they may have conceived among imprints’ materiality and literary content. My project treats as particularly significant material intertexts that create allusions between devotional books, not traditionally considered literature, and non-devotional texts more frequently accepted as literary. The material intertexts among the devotional books, chivalric fiction, and accounts of violence in the Americas examined in this dissertation suggest that the printing and reading experiences of these texts have more in common than the separate genre categories to which scholarship has assigned them suggest. As I study these texts conjointly, I reframe as material intertexts those elements that scholars of print culture, following Genette’s example, usually term paratexts.

Genette (*Seuils*) describes *paratextes* as liminal spaces, points of entry into or exit from a text. They are the *seuil*, the threshold, “entre texte et hors-texte, une zone non seulement de transition, mais de *transaction*” (*Seuils* 8, emphasis original). They also serve as “une action sur le public au service, bien ou mal compris et accompli, d’un meilleur accueil du texte et d’une lecture plus pertinente” (*Seuils* 8). To illustrate his formulation of *paratexte*, Genette rhetorically requests his readers to imagine how a reading of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* would be changed if the novel did not bear that title (*Seuils* 8), with the implication that critical interpretations of the novel would not have arisen lacking the interpretive frame of the *Odyssey*. “Imprints of Devotion” asks the inverse: what meaning would Genette’s *paratextes* have independent of the

texte of which they form the threshold? It further puts forth that, in the context of printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, neither *paratexte* nor *texte* signified independently, but rather were produced on the printed page and consumed by readers as interpretative units, through active reading that constructed cross-modal meaning, that is, the “shared understanding gained by an audience that must both look and read” (Hagan 54). Genette, in his discussion of the illocutionary purposes (“la force illocutoire” [16]) of paratext, explains that they condition readings of the text. Yet I propose that not only do these paratexts condition reading of the text, but the text itself suggests readings of the surrounding verbal and visual elements. Moreover, these same elements inform the reading of other printed books whose text and paratexts both resemble and diverge from those with which they share material intertexts.

My dissertation considers the following not as liminal, but as integral with the text itself: decoration, empty space, and other apparatus of the *mise-en-page*; affective reactions of compassion or pity; and memories of liturgical events. While it is true that initials, woodcut images, or engravings may have been added later in the process, printers conceived and allowed space for their presence on the leaf before that leaf was ever printed. Echoes of and allusions to other printed books or manuscripts might be found not only in literary content, but also in images or in printed books’ layout. Additionally, the creation or production of printed books should be understood as a continuing process, rather than one with a fixed ending. An imprint, once printed, could be bound, rebound with other texts, have its illustrations colored or removed, or be censored. Each of these modifications produced and reproduced the imprint and altered its material intertexts. Given the ongoing evolution of early printed books’ materiality, this dissertation finds a division of *paratexte* and *intertexte* to be less productive in the environment

of late medieval and early modern print culture and opts, instead, for the framework of material intertextuality.

Material intertextuality, as the name seeks to imply, adapts intertextuality, understood as Kristeva's "croisement de surfaces textuelles" (144) as well as Genette's "relation de coprésence" (*Palimpsestes* 8) and the practice of "allusion" (*Palimpsestes* 8), to the study of print culture and opens intertextuality to encompass not only literary allusions, but also allusions in imprints' visual program and layout to other books and extra-textual memories and experiences. My dissertation collapses Genette's categories to suggest an alternate and productive way to conceive of printed books in approximately the first century of their production and circulation. In terms of *mise-en-page*, understood as both the finished product and the act of arranging that product, printers and readers made meaning through the interplay of word and image. The presence and placement of each component of the *mise-en-page* condition the reading of the other elements. Therefore, my dissertation prefers to discuss pages as units, rather than to address subtitles, initials, literary content, frame pieces, and images separately. For printed books from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, considering text and paratexts as portions of the whole allows me to identify material intertexts and to show how printers influenced and were influenced by devotion to the Passion, in both their commercial and artisanal endeavors.

Material intertextuality is a theoretical frame that functions within and across genres and languages. It allows for an interdisciplinary study of early printed books because it accounts for visual as well as verbal components. Material intertexts reveal previously unnoticed connections among printers and printed books, which help us track how reading and printing strategies shift over time. In this way, my research highlights the circuits of mutual influence among Iberian

printed books and those produced in a broader European context. The framework of material intertextuality offers a new interpretive tool for book historians and for literary scholars. When text and materiality are analyzed interdependently, information about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century devotional culture encoded in the material elements of printed books becomes accessible.

My study is particularly interested in devotional practices within the currents of affective spirituality, practiced and promoted by Franciscans. Affective devotion seeks to unite the faithful with Christ through compassion or shared suffering. As Sarah McNamer (*Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*) indicates, “affective meditations on the Passion [are] richly emotional, script-like texts that ask their readers to imagine themselves present at scenes of Christ’s suffering and to perform compassion for that suffering victim in a private drama of the heart” (1). Compassionate Passion meditation gained ground in thirteenth-century Italy –most probably in Tuscany where the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (1336-1364), hereafter *MVC*, likely originated– and spread to other European regions.⁵ Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*, composed between 1348 and 1377, was inspired by and built upon the *MVC* (Bestul 52). Printers in Iberia helped to disseminate the *MVC* and Ludolph’s *Vita Christi* in Latin and in vernacular translations. In Catalunya, Pere Miquel Carbonell printed a bilingual Latin-Spanish edition of the *MVC* in Barcelona in 1493 (Coroleu 40). Johan Rosembach, also a printer in Barcelona, printed the *MVC* in Catalan in 1518 and 1522 (Coroleu 41 n. 13).

In addition to printed editions of the Latin originals and translations into Spanish and Catalan, writers on the Iberian Peninsula penned adaptations in the tradition of Franciscan

⁵ The *MVC*’s author was considered to be Bonaventure in the Middle Ages; Benedict Bonelli first proposed John of Caulibus as its author in 1767, although McNamer notes he is not named in extant manuscripts (“Origins” 954 n. 84). She postulates a base text for the *MVC*, composed for and by nuns, which was then glossed and expanded by a Franciscan monk (*Affective* 95-96).

devotion. Valencia had an active role in the promulgation of Franciscan devotion, with the posthumous printing of Sor Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi* by Lope de Roqua in 1497. Núria Silleras-Fernández (*Chariots of Ladies*) shows in her study of Francesc Eiximenis that his efforts to effect religious change through the Observant Franciscan reforms found new vitality in the century after the Catalan friar's death as his works were translated to Spanish and enjoyed increased circulation in Iberia (58). Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist* (composed 1397-1398) found its way into print in a roundabout fashion, with Hernando de Talavera translating it from Catalan, with the guidance of Fray Gonzalo de Ocaña's 1430s Spanish translation, and adding his own touches (fol. 2r). The resulting *Vita Christi* was one of only two editions printed by Meinardo Ungut and Juan Pegnitzer in the incunabular period in Granada in approximately 1496. Both Talavera, as Elizabeth A. Leffeldt shows in "Gender, the State, and Episcopal Authority," and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros joined the religious men who used devotional texts and the new technology of print to influence and condition both religious and lay people's reading and devotional habits.

My dissertation begins with Passion-centered printed books in the tradition of these affective devotional texts and explores their connections with non-devotional imprints with which they are connected through material intertextuality. I study these texts' print history in terms of their adaptation and translation during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the devotional books' influence on other genres such as chivalric fiction and accounts of injustices perpetrated in the Americas. The chapters of my dissertation examine a corpus of imprints that I associate directly and indirectly with the Passion through their material intertexts. Chapter Two, "Of Printers and Pelicans: Material Intertextuality, Pere Posa, and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist*," takes the case study of a Catalan devotional book, *La*

dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesucrist (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1508), to show how Passion-centered imprints could evoke other devotional books, liturgy, and religious art that devotees recalled while interacting with its pages. By conducting bibliographical and literary analyses of the *La dolorosa*, I elucidate how imprints' materiality bears witness to the reading practices and devotional culture of participants in Darnton's communications circuit in which the books were produced and consumed.

The existence of a corpus of affective devotional texts focused on Christ's Passion linked by material intertexts –particularly, though not exclusively, woodcuts– provides evidence of how printers both influenced and were influenced by devotion to the Passion. By employing print culture as a position from which to read these works of literature and highlighting their material intertextuality, Chapter Two puts into dialogue the Catalan *La dolorosa* with *La passion del eterno principe Jhesu xpo* (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1493) and Andrés de Li's *Thesoro dela passion sacratissima de nuestro redemptor* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494), both in Spanish. In addition to examining how readers engaging *La dolorosa* would have accessed other private and public devotional moments as they read, Chapter Two examines the woodcuts Pere Posa included in his edition of *La dolorosa* that imitated woodcuts from imprints produced by Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea. In the process, the chapter traces an as-yet unexplored connection between these printers in Burgos and Zaragoza and Pere Posa in Barcelona. By employing print culture as a position from which to read these works of literature and highlighting their material intertextuality, the dissertation puts into dialogue Spanish and Catalan devotional texts and their uses of material intertexts to show that linguistic differences did not constitute a barrier to commercial and religious exchange. These material intertexts offered opportunities for readers to engage with images within private, domestic space as they recalled

similar interactions in public worship (Belting 90). They participate in the transition Pereda notes in the later fifteenth century from the Passion-centered liturgy and iconography that were staples of public religious practices to the images placed in books intended for private reading and devotion (82-83). I contend that the material intertexts among *La dolorosa*, *La passion*, and *Thesoro* demonstrate how printers' editorial choices created allusions in printed books across linguistic divides and, in this way, encouraged readers to meditate on Christ's suffering.

Chapter Three, "'Estant Amadis Gaulois & non Espagnol'? The Printing of *Amadís de Gaula* in Iberia and France," first analyzes the Spanish edition of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla: Jacobo and Juan Cromberger, 1526) that became the source text for the first French translation of *Amadis de Gaule*. By indicating *Amadís de Gaula*'s material intertexts with the Cromberger edition of *Thesoro de la passion* (Sevilla, 1517), the third chapter argues that boundaries between chivalric and devotional literature were porous, especially for imprints in these genres produced in the same printing house for a group of buyers that likely overlapped. Material intertextuality here provides a framework for reading late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century imprints of chivalric novels as imaginative and reflective spaces in which readers could contemplate and imitate virtuous conduct and eschew immoral behavior. Readers of fifteenth-century devotional texts performed similar activities while reading imprints that detailed the Passion of Christ. The success of the *Amadís de Gaula* series, primarily evinced by the quantity of editions and reeditions, should not be attributed exclusively to the texts' ability to divert or instruct readers. Chapter Three suggests that equally important are the ways in which the imprints' *mise-en-livre* and visual code resembled those of the devotional imprints that, as Whinnom shows, occupied a significant portion of printing houses' output in the fifteenth as well as the sixteenth centuries in Iberia ("Problem" 193).

Chapter Three then shows how the French printer Denis Janot's strategic deployment of printing techniques served as an aspect of translating the Cromberger edition into the French *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris, 1540). The chapter also investigates material intertexts with Janot's printed editions of the works of Hélienne de Crenne, whose commercial success positioned Janot to undertake the expense associated with a luxury edition of *Amadis de Gaule*. The chapter demonstrates that *Amadis de Gaule*'s materiality evinces its indebtedness to Hélienne de Crenne through allusions to her works in the form of material intertexts. The edition of *Amadís de Gaula* from Sevilla in 1526 became the source text for the French *Amadis de Gaule*. Because of this, engaging the material intertextuality of these editions with Iberian devotional imprints and exploring how the French edition departs from Iberian chivalric and devotional typographic conventions allows this third chapter to present a case for printing as a technique of translation. It also demonstrates how authorship, including translation and adaptation, was distributed among multiple writers and artisans, given the necessarily collaborative nature of the printing industry. As Nicolas de Herberay adapted portions of his translation to make the text more appealing to a French public, printers like Denis Janot and the Crombergers utilized the imprints' visual components to promote ways of reading. They also inserted material intertexts that readers interpreted as allusions by the translated text to other printed books. The allusions that material intertexts produced aligned diverse reading experiences. Chapter Three, then, concludes that scholars may approach late medieval and early modern reading practices by engaging in cross-genre textual and bibliographical analysis.

Chapter Four, "Images of Devotion, Images of Destruction: Pity, Piety, and the Passion in De Bry's *Narratio regionum indicarum per hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*," extends the previous chapter's study of devotional books alongside books habitually categorized

in non-devotional genres. In this chapter, I investigate material intertexts from *La passion del eterno principe en romance* (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1493) and *Thesoro dela passion* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494) in a Latin translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* printed by the Dutch Theodor de Bry. The engravings in the *Narratio regionum indicarum per hispanos quosdam deuastatarum verissima* (Frankfurt, 1598) depict violence committed against indigenous peoples in the Americas. These engravings, as material intertexts, evoke scenes of graphic violence frequently employed in fifteenth-century Passion-centered imprints to awaken pity and compassion in readers. The *Narratio verissima*, however, engages in this visual program for a political rather than a devotional purpose; this chapter probes the overlay of the Passion onto indigenous bodies in the De Bry edition. By identifying the allusions to Christ's Passion employed in Catholic devotion within the *Narratio verissima*'s engravings, the fourth chapter calls into question the edition's exclusive alignment with early modern critiques of colonialism. Chapter Four signals that the engravings' stagings of violence do not exist in isolation and identifies them as material intertexts that recall late medieval Catholic devotional imagery.

The *Narratio verissima* follows the discussion of *Amadís de Gaula* not only due to similarities in the ways that their visual elements evoke earlier devotional imprints. Graphic descriptions of the massacred indigenous peoples in the *Narratio verissima* serve to awaken readers' pity and compassion, just as texts in the tradition of affective spirituality aimed to do. This chapter demonstrates how late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century non-devotional texts that participate in the visualization of an efficacious violence illustrate the problematic nature and lasting consequences of imaginative, compassionate devotion to the Passion. By extending the previous analysis of visual elements in printed devotional books to an examination of similar

elements in more secular imprints, the fourth chapter points to the sometimes-problematic results of promoting meditation on images and visual descriptions of suffering and violent spectacle. In the case of the translations of Las Casas's *Brevísima*, these consequences include participation in the oppression of American indigenous peoples that the translators nominally denounce.

Reading late medieval and early modern literature solely in contemporary critical editions collapses or conceals the material intertexts that formed a central component of reading experiences for late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers. Conversely, attentiveness to the transfer of literature into print brings a correlative awareness of the people throughout the years who shaped western European literature and contributed to the decisions of which texts would be lost and which would still be accessible to readers today. John Dagenais (*The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture*) redirects scholars of medieval manuscripts by proposing “a shift from a point of view that privileges the author and/or his text [...] to one that privileges the individual reader and the multitude of literary activities, such as commentary and copying, that mirror reading” (xvii). Similarly, while firmly situated in literary studies, this dissertation takes for its objects of study literature-as-imprints, along with all that printed books can teach scholars about devotional and reading practices. Imprints' materiality, particularly their material intertexts, convey details of the values, religious formation, and commercial models of those who printed and read them.

Not only the content, but also the materiality of the imprints studied in each of these chapters reveal the involvement of the various persons represented by the nodes on Darnton's “communications circuit.” By concentrating on material intertexts pertaining to Christ's Passion, this dissertation shows how printers' output manifested Iberian fifteenth-century devotional trends and carried them into the sixteenth century. Reading these texts through material

intertextuality reveals the networks of printers and readers who produced and consumed them. It also demonstrates that, while religious practices such as an affective and compassionate devotion to a human, suffering Christ may have arrived later to Iberia in comparison with other European areas, Iberia sought and maintained vibrant connections to Europe through the cultivation of the printing industry. “Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World” employs case studies of *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesucrist*, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, and the *Narratio regionum indicarum per hispanos quosdam de uastatarum verissima* to recover Iberian imprints’ influential role in the broader European book trade and to highlight occasions when printed books from the Iberian world prompted innovation and creativity on the part of printers in other parts of Europe. As the dissertation’s comparative approach reaches across generic, linguistic, and geographic boundaries that were not as rigid in the late medieval and early modern periods, it brings a previously-separated corpus of printed books back into dialogue by means of their shared material elements.

Chapter Two

Of Printers and Pelicans: Material Intertextuality, Pere Posa, and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist*

A chapel dedicated to Saint Yves (1253-1303, canonized 1347) has stood in the Latin Quarter of Paris from the mid-fourteenth century. On the Rue Saint-Jacques, near the chapel and the Sorbonne, printers began opening shops in the 1470s and 1480s. Among these were the three De Marnef brothers, printers and booksellers, who printed and sold at the “rue Saint-Jacques, près l’église Saint-Yves, à l’enseigne du *Pélican*” (Fournier 170, emphasis original). One of the brothers’ printer’s devices borrows part of its imagery from the sign under which they established their shop, with a pelican and three chicks in its upper left corner (Harman no. 25). The conjunction of Saint Yves, known as “the Advocate of the Poor” (Watkins 282), with the De Marnef brothers’ address at the Sign of the Pelican on the Rue Saint-Jacques, known for its proliferation of printing houses, presents a felicitous confluence of associations: in the Middle Ages, both Saint Yves and the pelican evoked charity and self-sacrifice. These characteristics of “la filantropía y del amor al prójimo” led early printers to begin adopting the pelican as a device

for their industry (Cacheda Barreiro 83-84). Beneath the association of printing with the pelican in the late Middle Ages lay the abiding understanding of the bird's Christological significance (Sánchez López 130). Printer Diego de Gumiel fused these interpretations in the printer's mark he employed in Barcelona in the late fifteenth century, moving the pelican from the corner to the center of the device and surrounding it with a Scripture reference (Botanch Albó 196). This printer's mark traded hands until it arrived in the shop of Barcelonese printer Pere Posa where it served to indicate his role in the production of devotional books in 1518 (fig. 2-1). The pelican, standing for Christ's Passion and for the risk printers undertook to bring knowledge to the public, serves as a locus to commence the study of material intertexts among the devotional imprints discussed in this chapter. The imprints' Passion-centered content and shared visual programs reveal networks of printing and of religious practice in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Iberia.

This chapter's devotional texts and images engage readers and viewers in an imaginative re-presentation of scenes from Christ's Passion. Through material intertextuality, they draw upon a broad corpus of other books, manuscripts, altarpieces, and religious art that devotees could call to mind while reading the books. I argue that the three Passion-centered imprints studied here, while produced in varying temporal and geographical contexts, can be shown to form a related corpus of devotional literature, linked by material intertexts. Building upon the habitual understanding of intertextuality as literary allusions, I employ case studies of three imprints by Fadrique de Basilea, Pablo Hurus, and Pere Posa to illustrate my concept of material intertextuality. Rather than treating imprints' material and textual content separately, material intertextuality integrates the material aspects of printed books with their literary content. Additionally, material intertexts join the imprints and their printers in a network of shared

resources and designs. Thus, this chapter's material intertexts indicate how commercial decisions in the book trade could dovetail with religious practices. Material intertextuality as an interpretive framework applies particularly well to Passion-centered devotional images. In addition to cross-referencing contemporary "influential prototypes" (Driver 72), these medieval representations already had the *loca santa* in the Holy Land as underlying material intertexts. The material intertextuality that binds *Thesoro dela passion sacratissima de nuestro redemptor* (Zaragoza, 1494), *La passion del eterno principe Jhesu xpo en romance* (Burgos, 1493), and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist* (Barcelona, 1518) highlights these imprints' role in cultivating a visual, imaginative devotion to the Passion in their readers by means of a strategic, shared visual program that crosses linguistic divides.

In late medieval Castilla, printers routinely employed Latin and Spanish in their imprints; printers in Catalunya added Catalan to the linguistic pool. Through the first quarter of the sixteenth century in Barcelona, printed books in Catalan dominated the book market, with Spanish significantly gaining in prominence as the sixteenth century advanced (García-Sempere and Wilkinson 562). However, throughout the sixteenth century, printers produced books in Catalan, Spanish, and Latin (562). At times, as in the three devotional books studied in this chapter, imprints contained combinations of these languages. Reflecting this diversity in language use, this chapter avails itself of source material in English, Spanish, Catalan, and Latin. When available, published English translations are supplied in brackets for the latter two languages. Unless otherwise indicated, bracketed translations are my own.

Devotional materials reflecting both the linguistic diversity and the shifting devotional climate of the Iberian Peninsula became more accessible as the printing industry grew. In late medieval Iberia, as affective devotion to Christ's Passion became increasingly widespread,

Christ's human nature and his suffering began to take precedence over the emphasis on his divinity (Robinson 373, 378-79). As Eamon Duffy explains, centering meditative thought on Christ's wounds or the instruments of his torment aided in drawing devotees toward an appreciation of the "humanity shared by Saviour and sinner" (237). Mitchell B. Merback defines the practice of affective devotion as one characterized by "contemplative immersion into the grisly details of [Christ's] affliction from one station of the Cross to another" (19), in which emotional, mental, or even physical pain felt by the devotee "signaled purgation and expiation" (20). In Iberian devotional books, as in those of other European countries previously, textual descriptions brimming with graphic imagery were often paired with an image or images on which to focus devotional thought. In these imprints, as Duffy observes, "[t]he Crucifix was the icon of Christ's abiding solidarity with suffering humanity" (237). Thus, the reader of such affective devotional literature became both "spectator *and* participant" in the unfolding drama of the Passion (Merback 45, emphasis original).

Fray Hernando de Talavera, Isabel de Castilla's confessor and first archbishop of Granada, played a key role in the introduction into personal devotion of meditation on visual representations of Christ, as evinced in his *Católica impugnación* (Sevilla, 1480). Among other themes in his rebuttal to a converso's iconoclastic treatise, Talavera addressed the benefit of images to Christian devotion. Devotional images, far from being prohibited, "antes [son] otorgadas como cosa muy provechosa para le despertar a devoción" (*Católica* 145). Talavera defended the mandate that "cada fiel cristiano tenga en la casa de su morada alguna imagen pintada de la cruz, en que nuestro Señor Jesucristo padeció, y algunas imágenes pintadas de nuestra Señora o de algunos santos o santas, que provoquen y despierten a los que allí moran a

haber devoción” (*Católica* 186).⁶ A few years earlier, Fray Iñigo de Mendoza penned his own defense of images in Christian devotion in the *Coplas de vita Christi* (first version composed 1467-1468), declaring they serve a memorial and penitential purpose (*coplas* 335-37). Meditation on images of the Passion also offered comfort and remembrances of salvation for those near death. The anonymous *Arte de bien morir y breve confesionario*, a Spanish *ars moriendi*, underlines the value of images in the devotion of those at the point of death; such individuals should “mas specialmente ruegue e se encomiende a aquellos santos o santas en los quales primero syendo sano tenía devocion e los honrrava o servía e amava, cuyas imágenes, con la imagen del crucifacio, le deven ser representadas” (117). Writings not only from fifteenth-century Iberian clergy, but also from the Church fathers defend the role of images in Catholic worship. Some of the most-cited examples come from Gregory the Great, as in his two letters to Serenus, bishop of Marseille. When the sixth-century pope’s own correspondence did not go far enough, a forged addition to his letter to Secundinus further emphasized his approval of the desire to have images as catalysts for devotion (Kessler 121): “[C]uius imaginem prae oculis habere desideras, ut uisio corporalis cotidiana reddat exsertum et, dum picturam uides, ad illum animo inardescas, cuius imaginem uidere desideras. Ab re non facimus, si per uisibilia inuisibilia demonstramus [(W)hose picture you wish to have before your eyes, so that every day, the corporeal sight renders Him visible; thus, when you see the picture, you are inflamed in your soul with love for Him whose image you wish to see]” ([Gregory the Great], 1110; trans. Kessler 121).⁷ Devotees’ generalized practice of finding visual inspiration to affective piety through

⁶ David Coleman addresses Talavera’s reputation for persuasion and tolerance of Granada’s Muslim citizenry after 1492 rather than attempting to convert them to Christianity by force; at the same time, Coleman recognizes recent scholarship’s speculations as to Talavera’s possible complicity with the forced mass conversions in Granada in early 1500 (84-85).

⁷ Kessler recognizes how convincing a forgery this addition was, even into the twentieth century (121). Freedberg credits Gregory the Great with this text, while Erik Thunø attributes it to part of an eighth-century forged addition to Gregory the Great’s letter to Secundinus (140).

images dates from the thirteenth century (Freedberg 166). In the second half of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth centuries, with the arrival of print in Iberia and its cultivation by Isabel de Castilla, printed images of the Crucifixion supplemented miniatures in devotional manuscripts. Such images aimed to inspire devotion by inviting the reader to meditate on Christ's suffering, as shown in the Passion woodcuts in *La passion del eterno principe*, printed by Fadrique de Basilea in Burgos in approximately 1493, *Thesoro dela passion sacratissima de nuestro redemptor* by Andrés de Li, printed by Pablo Hurus in Zaragoza in 1494, and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist*, printed by the younger Pere Posa in Barcelona in 1518 (henceforth, *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*).

Cynthia Robinson and Jessica Boon situate Passion-based devotional texts within religious and social currents of the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century, respectively. Robinson sets a firm *terminus post quem* for the widespread textual and artistic dissemination of affective spirituality in Castilla in the last decade of the fifteenth century (6), focusing primarily on altarpieces, statues, and manuscripts. Robinson argues that throughout the most of the fifteenth century in Iberia, the principal sources for both visual and written representations of Christ's Passion and of the Virgin Mary come from Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist* rather than from those books that epitomized affective spirituality in other parts of Europe, the *MVC* and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (Robinson 10-11). These latter Franciscan devotional texts are known to have had limited dissemination in Iberia until approximately the turn of the sixteenth century. Boon highlights three Franciscan Passion texts printed in Sevilla that privilege the emotional and physical suffering of Mary alongside her son, a trope she connects to sixteenth-century Iberian spirituality ("Agony" 4). My chapter follows Robinson and Boon as well as extends their ideas as it examines the arrival in Iberia of image-based,

compassionate devotion to the Passion through the lens of print. This type of devotion, as Boon explains, depends upon heightened attention to devotees' bodies which mirrored the realistic evocations of Christ's and Mary's suffering bodies (*Mystical* 38). My study approaches *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* from the perspective of print culture and of printers, some of whom were familiar with such devotional practices in other parts of Europe before their arrival in Iberia.

As a preliminary example, according to Andrés de Li's prologue to *Thesoro* in the Zaragoza 1494 edition, Pablo Hurus lamented the lack of a vernacular Passion, a regret which prompted Li's composition of *Thesoro* (fol. 2r).⁸ Perhaps he claimed to be "marauillado" at such an oversight due to his awareness of and desire to comply with wider European devotional practices. Pablo Hurus printed a Spanish translation of Breydenbach's *Viaje dela tierra sancta* in Zaragoza in 1498, around the same time as his second edition of *Thesoro* (1496-1498).⁹ Both were richly illustrated and *Viaje* included several of the original woodblocks designed by Breydenbach's travelling companion, the Dutch painter Erhard Reuwick (Ross 2-3).¹⁰ This imprint is only one instance of the influence of German woodcuts and engravings on those produced and used in Iberia (Aznar Grasa 500). From 1488 until 1491, during which time Pablo Hurus sojourned in Germany, he may have become acquainted with *Viaje* and established contacts with fellow printers that enabled him to borrow the woodblocks for his own edition

⁸ It appears that Pablo Hurus printed an edition of the *Cancionero Oñate Castañeda* in 1492, though there remain no witnesses to this edition. The *Cancionero Oñate Castañeda* contained Fray Iñigo de Mendoza's *Coplas de vita Christi* (something of a misnomer since the narrative ends in Christ's infancy) and, more to the point, Diego de San Pedro's *Passión trobada*. The *Cancionero* printed by Pablo Hurus in 1495 is extant and seems to be an exact reprint of the 1492 edition (Whinnom, "First" 149). Assuming the 1492 edition did exist, Li's report of the Pablo Hurus's surprise at the lack of a Passion in *romance* is less convincing.

⁹ Erhard Reuwick printed the first edition of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* in Mainz in 1486.

¹⁰ Sanz Julián traces the woodblocks Pablo Hurus employed to "las planchas utilizadas en las ediciones maguntinas de 1486 y 1488" and opines that he complemented these plates with others "de diverso origen" (1651).

when he returned to Zaragoza. María Sanz Julián enumerates known facts of Pablo Hurus's international connections, including his business colleagues in Ravensburg, his visits to Lyon, an important printing center in France, as well as other "contactos personales y profesionales con su país de origen" (1652). Material intertextuality, this time of resemblance rather than exact reproduction, links the Crucifixion woodcuts of *La passion* (fol. 1^{1v}), *Thesoro* (fol. 1v), *La dolorosa* (fol. 53v), and *Viaje* (fol. 64r). In its depiction of the twisted bodies of the two thieves, shown on a larger scale in *Viaje* than the Calvary scene on folio 2^{3v} of *La passion*, the *Viaje* woodcut joins the Spanish translation of Breydenbach's text with Passion paintings and iconography in northern Europe. Once more, Pablo Hurus availed himself of printerly, devotional, literary, and material currents from wider Europe as he determined which books to print in Zaragoza.

In addition to inter-European networks of printers, material intertexts can shed light on business connections among foreign-born and Catalan printers within Iberia. By looking at the material intertexts of *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*, this chapter extends the already-established collaboration between Pablo Hurus in Zaragoza and Fadrique de Basilea in Burgos to include Pere Posa in Barcelona. Francisco Vindel's and Konrad Haebler's foundational work on early printed books and printers provide essential background for outlining professional connections between Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea in terms of their business dealings and sharing of materials. To the bibliographical and historical knowledge of this circuit of exchange in the late fifteenth century, I now contribute the existence of a sixteenth-century node: the younger Pere Posa. Pere Posa was active as a master printer only in Barcelona in 1518; four imprints are extant with his name, all dated 1518. Despite this, his reedition of Hagembach and Hutz's edition of *Lo passi en cobles* (Valencia, 1493), which he titled *La dolorosa*, includes

material intertexts that resemble those in fifteenth-century devotional books and reference, in particular, devotional imprints from Pablo Hurus's printing house (Andrés de Li's *Thesoro* and Breydenbach's *Viaje*) and from Fadrique de Basilea's (*La passion*). Aznar Grasa explains "la capacidad que [...] tiene el grabado [...] para contribuir a crear una conciencia colectiva de acontecimiento, objeto o concepto conforme a una imagen determinada" (499). Recycled and copied woodblocks, used and reused by Fadrique de Basilea and Pablo Hurus, saw new iterations of meaning in Pere Posa's early sixteenth-century imprints, contributing to and innovating the "conciencia colectiva" pertaining to Passion-centered devotion.

Pablo Hurus, Fadrique de Basilea, and Pere Posa decided which books to print and how to frame the imprints' visual codes based on Iberian and broader European book markets. Also influential in these choices were the Castilian court's growing demand for northern European-style religious art as well as Catholic reforms, fostered by Isabel de Castilla, in favor of private, image-based devotion (Álvarez 15-16). Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea implemented extra-Iberian perspectives in addition to technology and printing materials, while Pere Posa represented those native-born Iberians who brought their own cultural knowledge to bear on the imported technology. The present chapter elucidates how printers' cultural background and contacts with the book trade within and outside Iberia conditioned the *mise-en-livre* of and the reading-devotional practices encoded in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*.

Extending the Network: Material Links from Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea to Pere Posa

Fadrique de Basilea, who established Burgos's first print shop, was active in that city from 1482 until 1518 (Fernández Valladares 127), with an interlude between 1502 and 1508

during which no known imprints bear his name (Delgado Casado 70).¹¹ The first indication of his presence in Burgos comes from a document dated 21 March 1482, in which the treasurer of the Cathedral in Burgos contracted Fadrique de Basilea to print “dos mil ejemplares de un pliego” (Cuesta Gutiérrez 68). His first signed imprint in Burgos was also the city’s first printed book, the *Grammatica* by Andrés Gutiérrez in 1485 (Vindel, 7: xv). Julián Martín Abad cites as many as 164 editions belonging to or attributed to Fadrique de Basilea during his time in Burgos (*Primeros* 71). His two editions of Clemente Sánchez de Vercial’s *Sacramental* in 1475 and 1476 and Andrés Gutiérrez de Cerez’s *Vida, martirio y translación de San Vitores* (1475) seem to be his earliest contributions to the Iberian print market (Delgado Casado 70). Among his other incunable projects are Diego de San Pedro’s *Tractado de amores de Arnalte a Lucenda* (1491) and *Cárcel de amor* (1496) as well as the anonymous *La historia delos nobles caualleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus Dalgarbe* (1499) and Fernando de Rojas’s *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499-1501?). Martín Abad notes the excellence of Fadrique de Basilea’s imprints, particularly his use of woodcuts (*Primeros* 74). According to Vindel, Fadrique de Basilea was the printer who employed most variety in his typographical materials in the fifteenth century, obtaining new type sets often and employing both gothic and roman types (7: xv).

Pablo Hurus, from Constance, established his successful printing business in Zaragoza from 1477 to 1499 following a brief stint in Barcelona (Delgado Casado 333; Vindel, 5: xxv) and with a hiatus from 1488 to 1491 during which he returned to Germany for business related to the Ravensburg *Handelsgesellschaft* (Martín Abad, *Primeros* 104). Pablo Hurus’s brother, Juan

¹¹ Vindel limits Fadrique de Basilea’s time as a printer in Burgos from the date of his first signed imprint in 1485 to until that of the last colophon with his name in 1517 (7: xxiv). Fernández Valladares, following A. Rumeau, feels it safe to assign three imprints produced between 1517 and 28 August 1518 –when Alonso de Melgar, his son-in-law and successor, signed his first printed book– to both printers, thus extending his activity through 1518 (137).

Hurus, managed the Zaragoza printing house (*Primeros* 104).¹² Pablo Hurus printed various works for about a year in Barcelona, according to colophons that attest to his collaboration with Juan de Salsburga in 1475 (Vindel, 5: xxv). He worked in collaboration with partners such as Juan Planck until 1484 (Martín Abad, *Primeros* 104). The nine final years of his known printing career saw him produce imprints, primarily of a religious nature, characterized by their quality and their ornate decoration (Delgado Casado 334). His ability consistently to produce superior editions, of which more than fifty are extant, with an eye to public taste perhaps owes something to his being a savvy businessman (Delbrugge 4, 7). Pablo Hurus's publication of Andrés de Li's texts on Christian living and devotion stand out among books from this period: the almanac *Reportorio de los tiempos* (1492), *Summa de paciencia* (1493), and *Thesoro* (1494; 1496-1498). Pablo Hurus's edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje dela tierra sancta* (1498) is another imprint frequently noted for its typographical excellence, as well as for its ties to previous German editions. Sanz Julián, in her study of Pablo Hurus's printing business in Zaragoza, comments, "La comparación entre el tipo de obras que imprimió Hurus durante este cuarto de siglo en Zaragoza y las que aparecieron en los talleres de Maguncia, Augsburgo, Ulm, Colonia o Núremberg permite observar que el de Constanza estaba al tanto de las obras que triunfaban en su país de origen y que hizo todo lo posible por imprimirlas él mismo" (1641). Pablo Hurus's output was not limited to religious texts. His edition of *Cárcel de amor* (1493), the first illustrated edition of Diego de San Pedro's *tractado*, represented one of his essays into secular literature and set the standard for the romance's subsequent Iberian editions.

¹² Vindel includes in his study an "Obligación de imprimir los 'Fueros'" awarded to "Anrricus de Saxonia et Paulus de Constancia, naturales de Alamania, magistri de enprenta" dated October 1476, in Zaragoza (5: xiii).

The younger Pere Posa was active as an independent printer in Barcelona only in 1518.¹³ In that year, his printing shop released four editions: the chapbook *Cobles novelles de la passio de Jesuchrist complides* (c. 1518); two imprints by Jaume Callís, *Extragrauatorium Curiarum* (July 1518) and *Tractatus De pace et treuga et De sono emisso* (c. July 1518); and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist* (September 1518) (Norton, *Printing* no. 97; Martín Abad, *Post-incunables* no. 673). Though named in the elder Pere Posa's will as the latter's heir, the younger Pere Posa did not inherit his uncle's printing equipment, which instead passed to Carles Amorós, who seems to have been the printer to whom the nephew's care and training were entrusted (Delgado Casado 560; Llanas 80).¹⁴ Amorós made use of the elder Pere Posa's printing resources and, meanwhile, acquired and set aside equipment for the nephew (Norton, *Descriptive* 68). When he came of age, the younger Pere Posa's equipment came to him, not from his uncle's printing house, but rather from Baltasar Avella (active in Girona 1501-1502 and 1505[?]) through Amorós (Delgado Casado 560). Amorós obtained the printing materials from Avella in 1505 and, shortly after, reserved them for the time when the legatee came of age (Norton, *Descriptive* 84). The younger Pere Posa printed his four editions with gothic types, among them, some type sets previously used by Baltasar Avella and Diego de Gumiel. Pere Posa's printer's device, a pelican in her piety, was employed first by Gumiel, then by Avella (Norton, *Descriptive* 84; Vindel, *Escudos* nos. 35, 87). Alongside these known connections to printers in Catalunya, my examination of Pere Posa's *La dolorosa* has enabled me to trace yet-to-be established links between the materials Pere Posa employed to produce *La dolorosa* and those used by Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea in *Thesoro* and *La passion*.

¹³ Two Barcelonese printers share this name. The elder, uncle of the younger Pere Posa, was the first Catalan printer and was active in Barcelona between 1481 and 1505.

¹⁴ Madurell and Rubió provide and comment upon the elder Pere Posa's autograph inventory (no. 235) and will (no. 238).

Manuel Llanas has drawn some faint yet intriguing lines of a business relationship between Pablo Hurus and the elder Pere Posa, who “apareix més o menys vinculat a la companyia d’impressors de Pau Hurus (o Pau de Constança)” (77), although the exact nature of this link remains unclear in Llanas’s study. Llanas also draws a corollary between the fact Pablo Hurus occasionally printed books in Catalan (he cites a 1493 *Art de bem morir e confessionari breu*) and the probability that “mantenia lligams amb Catalunya” (55). Konrad Haebler, through the process of revising and supplementing his *Bibliografía ibérica*, also implicitly links the Catalan printer with his colleague in Zaragoza. In the 1903 *Bibliografía*, Haebler identifies a *bula de indulgencias* as having been printed by the elder Pere Posa in Barcelona in 1481. In the 1917 supplement to the *Bibliografía*, Haebler reports that photographic evidence he has since seen of Perottus’s *Rudimenta grammatices*, printed in Barcelona in 1475 by Pablo Hurus and Johann of Salzburg, has changed his mind. In the 1917 supplement, Haebler concludes that the *bula* was, in fact, printed by Pablo Hurus in Zaragoza in 1481 using the types with which the *Rudimenta grammatices* had been printed (Haebler, *Bibliografía* [1903] no. 108; *Bibliografía* [1917] no. 108). In these books, Haebler does not make explicit the reasons for the mis-identification, but one may assume that, either by coincidence or due to shared or copied printing materials, the elder Pere Posa’s imprints resembled Pablo Hurus’s closely enough for the two printers’ work to appear interchangeable. A final indication of their, at least indirect, collaboration is found on the elder Pere Posa’s autograph inventory of his printerly possessions dated 2 March 1506, shortly before his death. Item 157 on the inventory is a book identified as “*Dela Terra Sancta*” (Madurell and Rubió no. 235). The notes to the inventory state that this listing most likely refers to Pablo Hurus’s edition (Zaragoza, 1498) of Breydenbach’s *Viaje dela tierra sancta* (Madurell and Rubió 413).

This edition of *Viaje* contains an image of the Crucifixion on folio 92v similar to *La dolorosa*'s crucifixion scene (fig. 2-2). The images exhibit a similar disposition of Christ on the cross, the groups of soldiers with lances, and a man with a head wrap gazing away from the Crucifixion scene. More to the point, the *Viaje* includes a Deposition image (fol. 64v), also appearing in *La passion* and *Thesoro*, on which the Deposition in the nephew Pere Posa's *La dolorosa* (fol. 60v) is modeled. It should be noted that, judging from the dates of extant imprints, the elder Pere Posa did not begin printing with Pedro Brun until 1481 and not alone until 1482. By this time, Pablo Hurus had already left Barcelona (after 1475) to establish himself in Zaragoza by 1477. Whether or not they collaborated directly, it appears from bibliographic evidence that Pablo Hurus's printing shaped the elder Pere Posa's printing practices, an influence later evinced by his nephew. For now, the exact nature of business dealings between Pablo Hurus and the elder Pere Posa remain enticing, but nebulous. Yet the available facts do assist in tracking potential influences on the younger Pere Posa's formation as a printer and possible sources for the decisions he made regarding his imprints' materiality.

Archival evidence offers a potential link with one degree of separation between the younger Pere Posa and Pablo Hurus, through Johan Rosembach. A marriage certificate witnessed by "Iohannes Rosembach, Vandelinus Rosenaya et Petrus Posa stamperius" and dated 20 April 1517 establishes a connection between Rosembach and the younger Pere Posa (Madurell and Rubió no. 327 bis). Rubió notes that "Posa, el sobrino, [...] tal vez trabajaba también por cuenta del primero [Rosembach]" (576). Rosembach printed the Catalan edition of *Lo càrrec d'amor* in 1493 using Pablo Hurus's woodblocks (Francomano 111). The younger Pere Posa, then, had at least two opportunities to become directly acquainted with some of Pablo Hurus's imprints. He might have seen or read his uncle's inventoried "[*Viaje*] *Dela Terra Sancta*" (assuming this was

indeed the Zaragoza edition from 1498). Alternately, if Pere Posa did indeed work for Rosembach, and if the latter retained any woodblocks or imprints related to his collaborations with Pablo Hurus, the younger printer could have seen and had access to them at that time.

Recycled and copied woodcut illustrations can point to direct and indirect collaboration among printers. Vindel, for example, has traced the ways in which Pablo Hurus inspired and collaborated with other printers, especially with Johan Rosembach in Barcelona and Fadrique de Basilea in Burgos, by examining similarities in woodcut illustrations and type sets. As far as I have read, studies of the materiality of *La passion* and *Thesoro* have yet to account for points of contact between these two late fifteenth-century devotional books and *La dolorosa*. Therefore, after reviewing existing circuits of collaboration between Pablo Hurus and Fadrique de Basilea as evinced by woodcut illustrations in their imprints, I will discuss how *La dolorosa*'s visual program reveals its indebtedness to Pablo Hurus's and Fadrique de Basilea's designs for printed devotional books.

Woodblocks could not last interminably under the continual pressure of a printing press. Because of this, printers often ordered woodblocks to be copied rather than using the same woodblocks again and again (Aznar Grasa 501 n. 6). Among printers in Zaragoza, woodblocks were copied more often than borrowed (501). Pablo Hurus's sharing of resources with Fadrique de Basilea followed this trend: Fadrique "reeditaba las obras de éste [Pablo Hurus] y copiaba exactamente los grabados que las ilustraban" (Vindel, 5: xxxv). Perhaps this tendency explains why Fadrique de Basilea's imprints make use of copies of Pablo Hurus's woodblock designs rather than using the same blocks themselves, as in *Cárcel de amor*. Vindel believes that Pablo Hurus's woodcuts were based on foreign designs and produced by Spanish artisans; the proliferation of woodcuts in Iberian imprints seems best explained by the presence of able artists

in Iberia in cities such as Pedraza, rather than the hypothesis that such a quantity of woodblocks was imported from Germany (5: xxxi). Most probably, Fadrique de Basilea also had talented artisans at his disposal. Vindel cites one individual in Fadrique de Basilea's employ who signed his woodcut initial letters with an "H" or an "I". His full name is unknown, but he was a superb copyist and the similarity of editions printed by Pablo Hurus and, later, by Fadrique de Basilea, such as *Anticristo* (Zaragoza, 1496; Burgos, 1498), Capua's *Exemplario* (Zaragoza, 1495; Burgos, 1498), Aesop's *Fabulas* (Zaragoza, 1489; Burgos, 1496), and Ketham's *Compendio de la salud humana* (Zaragoza, 1494; Burgos, 1495), demonstrate his talent (7: xxii). Since these works postdate *La passion* by at least two years, and because none of the woodcuts in *La passion* bear any signature or initials, the "H" or "I" artist may or may not be the one who copied the *Thesoro* woodcuts for *La passion*. Yet, the quality of the copies in *La passion* suggests a capable artistic hand and eye; their direct relationship to woodcuts that Pablo Hurus employed makes evident their commercial dealings (Vindel 7: xxii).

The artisans responsible for the woodblocks used in Pere Posa's *La dolorosa* have been more difficult to trace, given the scarcity of bibliographical details for the printer and the limited duration of his business. What is clear is that Pere Posa's types, frames, and printer's device belonged to Diego de Gumiel, then to Baltasar Avella, before passing to the young Barcelonese printer through Carles Amorós. However, the woodcuts on folios 2v, 53v, and 60v do not match Norton's descriptions of illustrations that appear in imprints by Diego de Gumiel (*Descriptive* nos. 1242-54) and Baltasar de Avella (*Descriptive* nos. 341-45) between 1501 and 1520. The image of Saint John the Evangelist on the title page of *La dolorosa* might match the one that precedes Saint John's Passion in Avella's edition of *Quattuor Passiones* (Gerona, 1501); Norton's description merely mentions that an image of an evangelist precedes each gospel

account (*Descriptive* no. 342), while Martín Abad does not address the xylographs (*Post-incunables* no. 191). The extant witness to *Quattuor Passiones* is in a private collection (Universal Short Title Catalogue reference no. 347115) and I have not consulted it.

The use of illustrated devotional imprints was general practice in late medieval Iberia. While Pablo Hurus's and Fadrique de Basilea's mutual influence has been well documented, Pablo Hurus's influence on Pere Posa's sixteenth-century *La dolorosa* is a lesser-studied instance of the transmission of devotional images between printers. The Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos (BETA) listing for the Boston Public Library witness of *La passion* mentions the resemblance of its woodcuts to those that Pablo Hurus used in imprints from 1492 until 1498, though it does not specify whether they are the same blocks or copies (*BETA* manid 3719). My comparison of *La passion* and *Thesoro* indicates that ten of the fifteen woodblocks in *La passion* were, in fact, copied from woodblocks that Pablo Hurus employed in his printing house. Moreover, my consultation of the Biblioteca de Catalunya witness to Pere Posa's 1518 edition of *La dolorosa* reveals that two of the three narrative illustrations in *La dolorosa* were also copied from images employed in *Thesoro*, *Viaje*, and *La passion* (table 1).

At first glance, the woodcuts look similar. In fact, a description of each set in *Thesoro*, *Viaje*, and *La passion* would likely appear identical, as Fadrique de Basilea's artist carefully imitated even minute details of Pablo Hurus's artist's work, matching creases in tunics and the number of lines that shade floor tiles. It is not the content, but the styles that differ. The lines of the *Thesoro* woodcuts are thinner and more fluid, while the woodcut lines in *La passion* are thicker and more rigid. These aesthetic differences lead me to surmise that the artisan who carved the blocks that appear in *La dolorosa* used the original woodblocks or woodcuts from Pablo Hurus's printing shop rather than Fadrique de Basilea's. The comparison of the woodcuts

also confirms the printing date of *La passion*. The date must be set no earlier than 1493 because the types include Fadrique de Basilea's unique *calderón*, obtained in 1492. Moreover, its printing must postdate Pablo Hurus's acquisition of these woodblocks. If Pablo Hurus obtained the blocks in 1492, Fadrique de Basilea would not have been able to commission copies of them prior to that year.

The Deposition woodcut, referenced above, shows Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, and a sixth figure lowering Jesus from the cross and appears in *La passion* (fol. 2⁴v), *Thesoro* (fol. 112v) and in *Viaje dela tierra sancta* (fig. 2-3). In *La dolorosa*, the woodcut appears on folio 60v, but as a mirror image of the Deposition in Fadrique de Basilea's and Pablo Hurus's imprints (fig. 2-4). As Delbrugge remarks, "In the early decades of printing in Spain, designers would cut new blocks based on impressions made from other blocks, hence the reversed images in the copies" (351 n. 1). It seems likely that the artisan who cut the woodblock used in *La dolorosa* based his work on an existing printed image. It seems likely that the source for this illustration, which is the mirror image of those in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *Viaje*, would have been the exemplar of Breydenbach's *Viaje* that Pere Posa's uncle owned.

The only exception to the exact reverse copying in the woodcut is the side wound, which migrates from the side closest to Christ's bent arm in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *Viaje* to the side nearest his straightened arm in *La dolorosa*. In *La passion*, the Spanish prayer following the Passion narrative reads: "O redemptor mio salud mia otorga me que pueda por *la ventana de tu lado derecho* ver et considerar los secretos de tu diuindad" (fol. 2⁵v, emphasis added). The adjustment of the wound's placement to keep it on Christ's right side suggests an awareness on the part of the artisan of the artistic tradition related to standard depictions of the Passion.

Moreover, it demonstrates that this individual's role in the woodblock carving was not merely one of copying, but also of intervening and adjusting the original design to preserve iconographic conventions as the image took shape. In a similar fashion, Pere Posa's labors as a printer went beyond reproducing an edition of *La dolorosa* identical to the *princeps* (Valencia, 1493). Because Pere Posa took inspiration from printers of devotional materials like Fadrique de Basilea and Pablo Hurus, the material intertexts among their imprints yield insights not only into late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century print culture, but also into the religious and devotional expectations at work among readers and hearers of these texts.

Printing the Passion: Material Intertexts in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*

A bibliographical description and analysis of each of these three editions will assist in conveying their uniqueness as well as the material intertextuality among them. Both Konrad Haebler and Vindel attribute *La passion* to Fadrique de Basilea in Burgos, around 1493, an imprint with fourteen leaves in folio.¹⁵ Haebler observes that the types are those of Fadrique de Basilea (*Early* 112) and Vindel notes that from 1492, Fadrique de Basilea used a unique *calderón* character (pilcrow sign), one in which the "tails" at the top and bottom point in opposite directions (Vindel, 7: xxiv); this *calderón* distinguishes his imprints, since no other printer used a similar one. It enables bibliographers to attribute the unsigned Boston Public Library witness of *La passion* to Fadrique de Basilea (Rivera, "Text" 1 n. 2). *La passion* is somewhat of a miscellany, including an opening statement (fols. 1²r-1²v) and a prologue by the translator Gauberte (fols. 1²v-1⁵r).¹⁶ A prose Passion narrative follows (fols. 1⁵v-2⁴v) and the text

¹⁵ Isidro Rivera first brought this unique text to my attention. My study of *La passion* is deeply indebted to his research and analysis of the witness (Burgos, 1493) held in the collection of the Boston Public Library.

¹⁶ *La passion del eterno príncipe* comprises two numbered, but unsigned, gatherings. Folios from the first gathering are so indicated with the numeral one, a superscript number corresponding to the folio, and either recto or verso. The same applies to the second gathering, with the numeral two preceding a superscript number for the folio and recto or verso.

concludes with brief prayers, one in Latin and one in Spanish, (fols. 2⁵r-2⁵v) and two fictional letters, allegedly by Pontius Pilate and Publius Lentulus (fols. 2⁵v-2⁶r). The narrative that comprises much of the content is a Spanish translation by Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad of the *Monotessaron*, a prose harmonization of the gospels (Rivera, “Text” 2). The general prologue attributes the text to “maestro Juan Gerson” (fol. 1²r), as do the catalogue entries for the Boston Public Library and the British Library. The Boston Public Library and the British Library each hold a witness to *La passion*, although Rivera indicates they are witnesses to different editions (Rivera, “Text” 1 n. 2).¹⁷ The Boston Public Library’s witness is complete, while the British Library’s lacks, in particular, the first two folios (*BETA* manid 2280). The first prologue also explains the text “fue trasladada del latin al comun fablar de espanna” (fol. 1²r), although some Latin will remain in the compilation, as we shall see.¹⁸ The Passion narrative begins with the deal brokered between Judas and the chief priests and concludes when a Roman guard is placed around Christ’s tomb. The letters are translations from Latin with circulation beyond *La passion* (Rivera, “Text” 2 n. 4); they detail Christ’s physical appearance, death, and resurrection. Most woodcuts in *La passion* depict scenes from the Passion that the accompanying text describes; folio 2⁵r, however, breaks with the two-column format employed on the previous folios and, with a *mise-en-page* that incorporates woodcuts and prayers in both Latin and Spanish, invites readers to engage in devotional acts centered on the Passion (fig. 2-5).

A section heading, “Ecce homo,” appears in large gothic type centered at the top of the folio. Below the section heading is a large woodcut of Christ standing in the tomb, displaying wounded side and hand to Mary and John, who flank him. The woodcut occupies about a third of

¹⁷ Laura Delbrugge suggests Thomas à Kempis rather than Jean Gerson may have authored the work (46), while Rivera prefers the Gerson attribution (“Text” 2).

¹⁸ In the transcription of the incunabular and early printed books, I have expanded the abbreviations and preserved the original spelling, not adding modern diacritical marks or punctuation. The tironian sign is reproduced as “et.”

the folio's height and spans both columns, the first instance since the initial full-page Crucifixion image that the *mise-en-page* strays from the two-column format. A brief Latin prayer follows, also filling the entire page width. Frame pieces enclose the text block, two at right and left, two at top, and two more at the foot. Another subtitle in the same large, gothic type follows to introduce "una oracion muy deuota al crucifixo" (fol. 2⁵r), after which a Spanish prayer again divides the text block into two columns. A miniature of the Crucifixion with Mary and John on either side of Christ occupies half of the left text column and the prayer continues across the full the right column.

The disruption in *La passion*'s layout alerts readers to a shift (Rivera, "Text" 15-16). The Passion narrative has ended with the placement of guards and a seal on Christ's tomb. The text on folio 2⁴v fills both right and left columns, suggesting that Fadrique purposely placed the text and images so that they would nearly fill the folio without overlapping the next one. On folio 2⁵r, the bold proclamation "Ecce homo" is situated about a line below the running titles "Prologo" and "La passion" which headed the previous folios. This lower placement links the words "Ecce homo" with the woodcut *imago pietatis* beneath it. Although the segments lifted from the gospels for *La passion* do not relate the Resurrection, Fadrique de Basilea inserts an image of the wounded, yet risen, Christ in order visually to tell the end of the story. This "Man of Sorrows" image falls into the iconographic category to which Poul Grinder-Hansen refers as "supra-historical" because it "unite[s] Christ's redemptive sufferings in one devotional image, showing the dead or living Christ –or rather Christ beyond life and death" (231). While "Ecce homo" is the phrase Pontius Pilate uttered when presenting Christ to the crowd before the latter's walk to Calvary, printed books featured "Ecce homo" alongside an *imago pietatis*, as here in *La passion*, with what Grinder-Hansen qualifies as "[t]he medieval indifference to iconographic precision –

as we see it” (232). Bob Scribner refers to the placement of the word “Behold” near an image of the suffering Christ as an invitation to “sacramental seeing,” a “form of contemplative gaze [which] constituted a personal encounter between the viewer and the viewed” (461). Working within a tradition of this deployment of devotional text and image, Fadrique de Basilea borrowed and recontextualized Pilate’s words to encourage the reader to behold and contemplate the wounded and triumphant Christ as depicted on folio 2⁵r.

The placement of the devotional prayers immediately below the image corroborates this idea. The Latin prayer, attributed to the Franciscan Bonaventure, comes from a thirteenth-century *Officium sanctae crucis*, a set of eight poems that urge affective devotion to the cross. The poem featured in *La passion* comes from the section “Ad matutinam” (Glendinning 237). Quoted in full, it immediately instructs the reader to call to mind and reflect upon both the torments of Christ “in qua datur salus homini” and the *arma Christi* that inflicted them: “Portemos in memoria: et penas et obprobria: coronam christi spineam: crucem clavos et lanceam” (fol. 2⁵r). As Duffy notes, the *imago pietatis* was intended to inspire devotion to Christ’s wounds (240). Although the instruments of Christ’s Passion are not shown in the woodcut illustration in *La passion*, they are mentioned in the prayer. In this way, the readers might call to mind the memory locus associated with Christ’s sacrifice as they recited the prayer and viewed the image. This Bonaventure prayer fits with the *imago pietatis* better than the “Adoro te” prayer that was more frequently associated with the Man of Sorrows (Duffy 240). The “Adoro te” prayer touches on the Passion, but looks beyond it to Christ’s resurrection and ascension, while the Bonaventure prayer included in *La passion* deliberately calls to mind Christ’s wounds, the crown of thorns, nails, and lance. The “Adoro te” prayer’s appearance and context in devotional books will be discussed later in this chapter. On this folio of *La passion*,

Fadrique de Basilea takes advantage of the combination of text and image to reproduce the full effect of the *imago pietatis*: the image presents the wounded Christ in the tomb, while the verse prayer contributes the textual presence of the *arma Christi* that surround the Man of Sorrows in *imago pietatis* iconography. Katherine Zieman observes the increasing role, beginning in the thirteenth century, that Books of Hours and devotional miscellanies played in “the development of an exclusively lay repertoire of texts” (101). Since the prayers on folio 2⁵r do not form part of the translation of Jean Gerson’s text nor does the larger woodcut illustrate a scene therein, this folio constitutes Fadrique de Basilea’s effort, as a printer, to contribute to the trend Zieman describes and to compile a devotional imprint in which the Passion narrative and woodcuts awaken the reader’s pity while simultaneously providing opportunities to imagine the Passion in the tradition of Books of Hours that displayed the *imago pietatis* alongside devotional prayers.

The elements on the “Ecce homo” folio would require knowledge of Latin to appreciate fully the interplay of word and image. The inclusion of a Latin prayer may hint at an intended readership that included lettered persons among the nobility or clergy, although the prologue does specify an audience of “gente comun” (fol. 1²r). On the other hand, the Latin itself does not limit readers’ access to the devotional tools. The two images and the second prayer in Spanish, which continues on the reverse folio, provide other means for readers to allow pity and compassion to draw them into devotional contemplation of the crucified and risen Christ. The blend of visual and textual input enables readers to interact with the *mise-en-page* to varying degrees: they might contemplate the images; read, recite, or listen either to the Latin or to the vernacular prayer; or engage in a combination of these devotional activities. Gregory the Great’s epistle to Serenus, bishop of Marseille, characterizes the unlettered as able to “read” works of art as though they were books: “Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt

saltem in parietibus uidendo legant, quae legere in codicibus non ualent [For a picture is provided in churches for the reason that those who are illiterate may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books]” (Gregory the Great IX: 209; trans. Martyn). However, *La passion’s imago pietatis* does not function solely as a substitute to the surrounding text.¹⁹ In fact, it is the Crucifixion miniature at the foot of the folio that more closely replicates the text’s contents. For individuals who could read or understand either prayer, the woodcut at the top of the folio works more as a supplement than a substitute to the printed words. Devotees could pray “Te crucifixum colimus” or “O jhesu xristo crucificado salvador del mundo” (fol. 2⁵r) while gazing at Christ’s body, with the woodcut’s extra-textual foreshadowing of the empty tomb. The image of hope near the end of *La passion* provides readers with relief from the violence of the Passion woodcuts and narrative. The conclusion of the vernacular prayer, “de tal manera que despues de amortiguada mi carne con mucha penitencia me leuante triunphante et victorioso contra las tentaciones” (fol. 2⁵v), recalls the image of the scarred, resurrected Christ on the previous folio and offers a hopeful promise to encourage perseverance through the emotional and, perhaps, physical suffering that resulted from contemplating and imitating Christ during his Passion.

Printed in the year after *La passion*, the *converso* Andrés de Li’s *Thesoro* is another devotional book that recounts events from Christ’s ministry with a special focus on those occurring during Holy Week.²⁰ The Library of Congress witness to the Zaragoza 1494 edition

¹⁹ But see Celia M. Chazelle’s caveats regarding overgeneralizations and misinterpretations of Gregory I’s two letters to Serenus (“Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate”).

²⁰ In this study, I focus on the complete witness (Incun. 1494.L5, Control Number 51006193) housed in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The other libraries with witnesses to this edition are Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; Real Biblioteca, Palacio Real, Madrid; The Hispanic Society of America, New York; Huntington Library, San Marino; Biblioteca Pública, Toledo; and El Escorial, Madrid (Delbrugge 13-14).

contains one hundred nineteen leaves in folio, printed with Pablo Hurus's gothic types.²¹ In the prologue, Andrés de Li shares a repeated conversation with Pablo Hurus in which the printer marveled that, not one among the countless books he had printed was a vernacular account of the Passion (fol. 2r). To fill this vacancy in the Zaragoza book market, Andrés de Li wrote *Thesoro*, a rather more extensive treatment of the subject than *La passion*. Li supplements the Passion narrative with prayers, invitations to contemplation, exhortations to perform devotional activities like prayer or compassionate weeping, instructional passages with source references, and recommendations for Christian living. Many chapters begin with a title that links the biblical episode to the canonical hour at which it should be prayed ("que se reza en la hora de [...]"), an allusion to one of Li's primary source texts, Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, also organized by canonical hours.²² *Thesoro* also resembles Ludolph's *Vita Christi* and diverges from the *MVC* in that Li includes specifically-worded prayers for each event, while the writer of the *MVC* conceives of his entire text as an open invitation to prayer (Meany 233). Most chapter headings also include woodcut illustrations of scenes from Christ's life as well as small figures in an *orans* posture that, along with the initials, form "clusters" at the start of each chapter (O'Brien 1).

Like *La passion*, *Thesoro* breaks with the preceding folio's layout at a key moment in the Passion story, this time at the moment of the Crucifixion in the fourth part (fols. 85r-106r), which contains eighteen chapters and corresponds to the *hora de sexta*. The chapters for the Sixth Hour relate the scenes directly preceding and surrounding the Crucifixion. In the first chapters, illustrated with corresponding narrative woodcuts, Christ is taken to Pilate, condemned

²¹ Vindel lists one hundred twenty leaves (5:188). However, O'Brien notes that there is an error in the foliation. He suggests that folio 100 doubles as 101 (1). I would adjust this observation by noting that the folio in question carries the number 101 and that there is no folio 100. Such small errors in foliation were common in the incunabular period.

²² The *MVC*'s ordering of the Passion account by canonical hours, in turn, had informed Ludolph's structuring of his *Vita Christi*.

to death, carries his cross, and is prepared for Crucifixion. James P. R. Lyell opines that the narrative *Thesoro* woodcuts might be based on “what is known as the ‘Delbecq-Schreiber Passion,’ a series of twenty cuts which had appeared ca. 1480” (38). The remaining chapters, in which Christ is crucified between the thieves and mocked, the soldiers gamble for his clothes, and Mary mourns him, have only *orans* figures at the start of each chapter. Then a full-page woodcut of the Crucifixion with Mary and John near Christ appears on folio 106v; the woodcut is the same as the one on folio 1v. Unlike the deployment of the “Ecce homo” text and image in *La passion*, the *Thesoro* woodcut image that interrupts the text does not supplement the narrative. Rather, the illustration provides a space in which the reader may linger after having endured the details of the Crucifixion, including the order in which Christ’s hands and feet were nailed to the cross (fols. 95r-97v). The chapter immediately preceding the Crucifixion woodcut on folio 106v relates the Virgin’s Lament and the *Stabat mater* (fols. 105r-106r). Mary, as the most pained of all spectators, provides a model that the reader can imitate as he or she views the Crucifixion woodcut.

This woodcut exemplifies the culture of domestic, image-based devotion that Hernando de Talavera, whom Isabel de Castilla appointed the first archbishop of Granada, encouraged. In his *Breve et muy prouechosa doctrina delo que deue saber todo christiano* (Granada: Meinardo Ungut and Juan Pegnitzer, [1496]), Talavera recommends that the reader “ha de tener en su casa en un lugar honesto: alguna deuota ymagen: que despierte a deuocion et a hazer oracion” (*Breve* A4v). His *Memorial y tabla de ordenaciones* details how such images could become part of a private sacred space: “Que tengays en vuestras casas en lugares onestos y limpios algunas ymajines de nuestro Señor o de la Santa Cruz o de nuestra señora la Virgen María [...] y que cerca de aquella ymajen tengays colgada la candela bendita” (qtd. in Azcona 762-63). Talavera’s

instructions regarding devotional images exemplified efforts to foster an Iberian material devotional culture that brought aspects of public worship into individuals' homes. That printers like Fadrique de Basilea and Pablo Hurus attended to the inclusion of devotional woodcuts in their imprints suggests their intention that printed books become part of this domestic, material culture of devotion.

Thesoro's Crucifixion image on folio 106v, like the image of the Crucifixion and the resurrected Christ in *La passion*, matches Talavera's recommendations for a "deuota ymagen," including "ymagines de nuestro Señor o de la Santa Cruz o de nuestra señora." Fadrique de Basilea and Pablo Hurus, in producing imprints with Passion accounts and devotional images, provided tools for readers to comply with religious practices that Talavera promoted. The impact of the page-cut image in *Thesoro* is amplified by the lack of narrative woodcuts on the preceding twelve leaves, although there are *figurae orantes* and decorative initials at the head of each chapter. This is the longest span without narrative images in *Thesoro*; readers, accustomed to the richly illustrated leaves that characterize the other chapters, might have felt discomfort and suspense as a result of this material aspect of the reading experience. Li's words work in tandem with Pablo Hurus's layout, particularly in direct addresses to readers, urging them to feel compassion for Christ's suffering that leads to contemplation: "Contemplemos pues/ o hermanos carissimos con los interiores ojos del coraçon/ el saluador de humana natura estendido et descoyuntado por nuestra salud en la cruz" (fol. 94r). Later, Li again links compassion, "suffering with," and the contemplation of Christ's sacrifice: "Plega te ahora muy deuoto xristiano/ con lagrimas piadosas contemplar et hauer compassion de tu redemptor: et con apressurados gemidos preguntar le la causa de passion tan crudelissima" (fol 94v). The imprint's materiality – particularly this lengthy span of text without narrative images on which to rest the eyes–

functions alongside *Thesoro*'s content –narrative, prayers, and asides to the reader– to pull readers into a place of devout suffering and, as Gregory wrote, to cause them to burn with longing and compassion for the sight of an image representing Christ (“ad illum animo inardescas, cujus imaginem videre desideras”).

The Passion, whether centered on Christ or on the Virgin, remained central to devotional practices in the sixteenth century. The devotional culture of affective piety did not pass with the waning of the fifteenth century, but instead flourished in the early modern period, particularly with the shift in emphasis to Mary's emotional suffering (Boon, “Agony” 3). In the sixteenth century, books with religious content surpassed other genres on personal libraries shelves not only of the nobility, but also of “todos los sectores socio-profesionales,” as Peña Díaz demonstrates in his examinations of Barcelonese post-mortem inventories (*Laberinto* 335). Terence O'Reilly provides a concrete example of the continuing presence of fifteenth-century devotional literature in sixteenth-century libraries as he traces the early printed devotional books that inspired Ignatius of Loyola's conversion and writing of the *Exercicios espirituales*. In his youth, Ignatius had not learned Latin and read vernacular works. While convalescing from a wound he suffered in Pamplona in 1521, he read fifteenth-century Spanish devotional books, as none of his preferred *libros de caballerías* were on hand (O'Reilly 637). There is some doubt as to the exact texts that he read, as his reminiscences merely mention a *Vita Christi* and a book of the lives of the saints. Research has led scholars to propose Pedro de la Vega's *Vida de Cristo* (Zaragoza: s. n., 1520, 1521), Juan de Padilla's *Retablo de la vida de Cristo* (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1505), and Ambrosio Montesino's translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (Alcalá de Henares: Estanislao Polono, 1502-1503). A likely contender for the “vida de los santos en romance” is the *Flos sanctorum* (Sevilla: Juan de Varela, 1520-1521). O'Reilly locates

passages and stylistic choices in Ignatius's *Exercicios espirituales* that seem indebted to his reading of these fifteenth-century devotional books, which may not have been limited to those mentioned in his reminiscences. Of note is Ignatius's consistent urging that the exercitant visualize figures and places from Christ's life and, particularly, to think about and feel Christ's pain during his Passion in the third week of exercises. Similarly, Lope de Vega's early seventeenth-century *Romances espirituales*, directed toward a Franciscan community, echo the violent Passion scenes cultivated in late medieval texts of affective meditation. Lope de Vega also invites readers to enter scenes of the Passion as participants. Readers should imagine being beside Christ in the garden ("A la oración del huerto"), visualize the crown of thorns whose spines penetrated Christ's brain ("A la corona"), and, most graphically, place themselves between the wood of the cross and Christ's hand, the better to join in his suffering ("Al levantarle en la cruz"). While I have not found autobiographical indications that Ignatius or Lope de Vega read *La passion* or *Thesoro*, both of these imprints as well as the *Exercicios espirituales* and the *Romances espirituales* share the influence of Passion narratives and the contemplation of Christ's suffering as a devotional tactic. Tastes for devotional books that were widely read in the Middle Ages persisted in the succeeding centuries, in Iberia and in a broader, European context (O'Reilly 662). Peña Díaz reports that in Catalunya, for instance, the majority of the books in three libraries' post-mortem inventories were older than twenty years, making a case for continued circulation of older volumes in and around Barcelona (*Cataluña* 178-79). He also notes that a Barcelonese textile worker's inventory from the last quarter of the sixteenth century included books that "cualitativamente apenas se diferenciaban" from those owned by two other members of the same trade at the end of the fifteenth century (Peña Díaz, "Lecturas" 86-87). These sixteenth-century examples illustrate the continuing relevance of early devotional imprints

on religious reading and writing in the early modern period, a relevance that will be explored in detail with Pere Posa's edition of *La dolorosa*.

La dolorosa, printed by the younger Pere Posa in Barcelona in September 1518, is a reedition of three devotional poems.²³ Marinela Garcia Sempere, who has done significant work on the first edition titled *Lo passi en coblas* (Valencia: Hutz and Hagembach, 1493), refers to the reedition from 1518 as *La hystoria de la passio*. However, because the name on the title page is that of the first poem, "La hystoria de la passio del nostre mestre e redemptor Jesuchrist," while the other two poems are mentioned as "algunes deuotes contemplacions in cobles," I have opted to use the title given in the edition's colophon as the title for the complete 1518 edition. The colophon reads, "Feneix *la dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist*: nouament estamdada [sic] per mestre Pere Posa Cathala" (fol. 61v, emphasis added). The collection's first poem is "La hystoria de la passio del nostre mestre e redemptor Jesuchrist" by Bernat Fenollar and Pere Martines (fols. 3r-53r; henceforth "La hystoria"). The second devotional poem, one of the "algunes deuotes contemplacions en cobles" mentioned in the title, is the "Deuota contemplacio a Jesus crucificat: feta per mossen Johan Scriva mestre racional: e per mossen Fenollar," by the writers mentioned in the description, Joan Scrivà and Fenollar (fols. 53v-60r; henceforth "Contemplació"). The final poem is Joan Roís de Corella's "Devota oracio ala sacratissima verge Maria tenant so fill deu Jesus enla falda deualat de la creu" (fols. 60v-61v; henceforth "Oració").²⁴ The three poems belong to the tradition of Franciscan-type affective devotion leading to both meditation and contemplation, making *La dolorosa* a printed book joined others that "promou una sèrie d'obres en les quals el lector és interpel·lat i invitat a la

²³ See bibliographic descriptions of the *La dolorosa* by Wilkinson (*Iberian Books* no. 8668), Garcia Sempere (183-85), Martín Abad (*Post-incunables* no. 673), Norton (*Descriptive* no. 210), and Aguiló y Fuster (no. 2099).

²⁴ I have modernized the spelling of the titles of the "Contemplació" and the "Oració," following the example of Garcia Sempere.

meditació i la contemplació” (Garcia Sempere, *Lo passi* 37). Two witnesses to this edition are extant: a complete exemplar in the Biblioteca Colombina in Sevilla and a second, incomplete exemplar in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona. Garcia Sempere provides an extensive description of the Biblioteca Colombina witness from 1518 in her critical edition of the 1493 *princeps*, (*Lo passi* 181-85).²⁵ She only briefly mentions the witness to the 1518 edition which was acquired by the Biblioteca de Catalunya in 1995 (185); the descriptive catalogues I have referenced also prefer the Biblioteca Colombina exemplar because all its folios are extant. In the interest of thoroughness and since I have personally examined the exemplar in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, I include its description here. The Biblioteca de Catalunya witness to *La dolorosa* (shelfmark 16-I-4) has fifty-nine leaves in quarto with signatures A¹⁻², A⁴⁻⁵, and A⁷-H⁵.²⁶ It uses three sizes of gothic types; decorated initials on folios 1v, 50v, 54r, and 61r; engraved, metal-cut frame pieces on the folio 1r; four woodcut illustrations on folios 1r, 2v, 53v, and 60v; and a printer’s device on 61v.

Leonard Hutz and Pere Hagembach printed the first combined printed edition of these three devotional poems in Valencia in 1493 under the general title *Lo passi en cobles* (Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere 121-22). Although the *princeps*’s colophon names Jacobo de Vila as printer, bibliographic evidence situates Vila as the editor. The rubricated Valencia edition, to which there are seven extant witnesses (Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere 122), makes use of a single woodblock on two separate occasions. The Crucifixion, featuring the Virgin Mary and John flanking the cross with Mary Magdalene weeping and embracing the cross between them, appears once on the folio preceding the “Istòria” (a3v) and again prior to the “Contemplació” (k1v). Garcia Sempere collates bibliographic mentions of a third edition printed by Joan Navarro

²⁵ This witness was owned by Cristóbal Colón’s son, Hernando (Garcia Sempere, *Lo passi* 181).

²⁶ The complete exemplar in the Biblioteca Colombina has sixty-one leaves with signatures A-H⁸.

in Valencia in 1564, to which no witnesses are extant (*Lo passi* 166-67). The only scholar to claim to have examined a witness to this edition was Vicente Ximeno for his *Escritores del reyno de Valencia* (1747).

Contrary to Aguiló y Fuster's observation that it "[e]s copia exacta de la primera edición" with the exception of a single verse (545 no. 2099), *La dolorosa* differs in several ways from the 1493 *princeps*. In his later edition, Pere Posa did reproduce the text of the *princeps* with only a few spelling changes, such as the elimination of some double letters in certain words. Yet he significantly altered the visual program by introducing new woodcuts to head each poem and inserting Latin phrases above and below two of them. A woodcut depicting John the Evangelist adorns the title page while a printer's device with a pelican concludes the imprint. As in Hutz and Hagembach's edition, Pere Posa's woodcut images assist readers' navigation of these poems. However, the Barcelona edition includes three different woodcut images, one before each poem, while the Valencia edition employed the same illustration twice. Pere Posa's reedition increased the practicality of the imprint for use in private devotion. Readers could more easily navigate the three poems using the woodcuts as a guide to locate the beginning of each one. The Latin phrases surrounding two of the woodcut illustrations deepen readers' devotional experience of the work. The interplay of the Latin text with each illustration forms material intertexts referencing liturgy, Books of Hours, and other devotional poetry. Thus, while the "texte proprement dit" (Genette 9) remains largely consistent between the 1493 and 1518 editions, Pere Posa's *La dolorosa* casts the Passion-centered poetry in a broader context of public and private devotion, two domains that, as Hans Belting maintains, should be understood as mutually constructive (59). The material aspects of *La dolorosa* have received scanty scholarly attention, but my analysis of *La dolorosa*'s materiality, as well as its material intertextuality with *La passion* and *Thesoro*, brings

to light the continuity between late fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Passion-centered devotion. It also demonstrates how printers' commercial decisions both responded to and cultivated readers' interactions with devotional books.

Pere Posa's title page, the first illustrated folio of the imprint, borrows the name of the first poem for the compilation's title (fig. 2-6). The perimeter consists of six probably metal-cut frame pieces, one at the top, one on the right, two at the bottom, and two on the left. The woodcut image depicts Saint John the Evangelist bearing his characteristic chalice and serpent, an allusion to the account in the *Golden Legend* in which John's blessing transforms the poison (*venenum*) in his cup into a snake (Voragine 58-64).

The first poem in the collection, "La hystoria," begins with a dedication to Isabel de Villena: "Ala molt illustre e deuotissima senyora Dona ysabel de Billena: digna Abadessa del monestir de la sancta Trinitat de Valencia" (fol. 1v). Isabel de Villena, abbess of the Clarissan convent Santa Trinitat in Valencia, wrote her own *Vita Christi* (Twomey 12-13). She composed the text prior to 1490; Lope de Roqua produced a posthumous first printed edition in Valencia in 1497 at the request of Isabel de Castilla (Twomey 21). This made Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi* the first book written by a woman to be printed in the Crown of Aragón. The abbess's *Vita Christi*, despite its title, places most emphasis on the women's experience before, during, and after Christ's life, perhaps in response to religious women's central role in the existence of devotional books dedicated to evoking affective spirituality (Twomey 13-18; McNamer, *Affective* 7, 17, 89). The dedication to Isabel de Villena makes an appeal that her holiness and merit will cast similar qualities onto the two poets' verses. It also includes *La dolorosa* in the corpus of Franciscan devotional texts written for and informed by female religious, just as the

MVC is addressed to a Clarissan nun (Meany 217; Twomey 13) and Diego de San Pedro dedicates his *La pasión trobada* to “una deuota monja” (45).

In *cobla* 3 of the “Endereça [Dedication],” Fenollar draws a parallel between Isabel de Villena’s willingness to sacrifice for the faithful and that of the pelican, according to legend: “Ell ver pellica dona per sos fills/ Donchs mogues la vostra real sanch finida/ Per sanch dinfinit que morts nos ajuda/ Preserua y desliura de tots los perills [The true pelican gives for its young/ Therefore give your finite royal blood/ For blood of the infinite that helps, preserves, and unbinds/ we who are dead from all perils]” (fol. 1v).²⁷ The pelican returns in the poem “Contemplació,” when, following descriptions of Christ’s pierced side, the poet calls him a pelican with evident parallels to Christ’s death and resurrection:

O ver pellica puix tal benuolença
 Naffrant vostres pits mostras senyor just
 En gran peccat lom clauat per fallença
 Daquell vedat gust
 Uos sols desclauas clauat en lo fust.
 Naffrem donchs la carn que tant nos contrasta
 Puix de vostres naffres exemple tenim
 Que sols una gota de vostra sanch basta
 Si bens penedim
 Leuar nos dinfern que tant auorim.
 [O true pelican, just Lord,
 You show such goodness by wounding your chest.

²⁷ Pere Posa marked the caesuras with a colon in the middle of the verses (fig. 2-1); in my transcriptions, I include extra space to indicate the caesuras.

Only you, the one nailed to the tree,
 Could release man in great sin,
 Pierced for the failure of that forbidden pleasure.
 So let us wound our flesh that so opposes us
 Because from your wounds an example we have
 That only a drop of your blood is sufficient
 If we truly repent
 To wash us of hell that we so despise.] (fol. 58r, cobla 32)

Sor Constanza de Castilla, prioress of the Santo Domingo el Real monastery in Madrid from 1416 until 1465, prepared a prayer book that also speaks of Christ as the “true pelican.” Her fifteenth-century manuscript begins the Antiphon for Sexta with “El verdadero pelicano en cruz fue muerto por vivificar con la su sangre a los sus hijos muertos” (79). Indeed, the characterization of Christ as “ver pellica” occurred often in religious iconography, devotional texts, and prayer books in the Middle Ages, an allegory that grew from the pelican’s symbolic connotations of philanthropy in classical writings (Sánchez López 130). Classical Greek writers enumerated the alimentary behaviors of pelicans, including their regurgitating of food for their young (130). Creative and Christian-leaning minds in the Middle Ages drew parallels between this philanthropic gesture and the ultimate act of philanthropy and charity in the Christian West: Christ’s sacrifice for humankind (132-33).

One likely source for these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century references to Christ as pelican is the *Physiologus*. Much-read in the Middle Ages, this didactic text combined ancient knowledge and legends with allegories, linking the natural world to early Christian doctrine. Michael J. Curley notes that the *Physiologus* constituted “an established source of Medieval

sacred iconography” (ix) as well as a reference text regarding the properties of animals, stones, and mythical beasts. Regarding pelican lore and its Christological allegory, the *Physiologus*, or the natural philosopher, explains that the pelican “is an exceeding lover of its young,” but that “the little ones [...] take to striking their parents” (*Physiologus* 9). The parents retaliate, killing their young, but “moved by compassion, they weep over them for three days” (9). Then, the mother pelican pricks her breast with her beak, allowing drops of blood to fall upon the chicks and revive them (10). In the same way, the text explains with biblical citations, humankind “struck” its heavenly parent, both figuratively by sinning and literally by piercing Christ’s side; the blood and water from Christ’s side, like the blood of the pelican, shower the faithful with new life (10). Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologies*, seems to cite the *Physiologus* as he relates the mythical behavior of the pelican, though without invoking the Christian allegory:

Pelicanus avis Aegyptia habitans in solitudine Nili fluminis, unde et nomen sumpsit; nam Canopos Aegyptus dicitur. Fertur, si verum sit, eam occidere natos suos, eosque per triduum lugere, deinde se ipsam vulnerare et aspersione sui sanguinis vivificare filios [The pelican is an Egyptian bird inhabiting the solitary places of the river Nile, whence it takes its name, for Egypt is called Canopos. It is reported, if it may be true, that this bird kills its offspring, mourns them for three days, and finally wounds itself and revives its children by sprinkling them with its own blood]. (XII.vii.26; trans. Barney, et al.)

In the sixteenth century, the pelican remained a symbol Christ’s life-giving sacrifice. It also continued to be applied to those who, like Isabel de Villena, were celebrated as Christlike

models. Queen Elizabeth I of England was another such exemplary altruist (Bailey 178).²⁸ When Fenollar drew upon this cultural knowledge of Christ-as-pelican in his verses, he was joining other medieval and early modern writers and artists: Christ saves the faithful, his “chicks,” by the blood droplets from his pricked chest.

Alongside the allusions to the pelican in the verses in *La dolorosa*, an image of the bird appears in Pere Posa’s printer’s mark (fig. 2-1). The image is bordered by the name “Jhesus” and text quoting Psalm 101:7, one of the seven penitential psalms: “similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis [I am become like to a pelican of the wilderness].”²⁹ Diego de Gumiel was the first to employ the woodblock carved with this printer’s device while he printed in Barcelona from 1494 until 1499 or 1500. It then passed to Baltasar Avella and, through Carles Amorós, to the younger Pere Posa. Vindel, in a comment on the pelican printer’s mark used by Gumiel for *La historia delas amors e vida del cavaller Paris e de Viana* (Barcelona c. 1497), offers this interpretation of the pelican allegory: “Marca alegórica de la Imprenta. El Pelicano dando de comer de su propia sangre a sus pequeñuelos; simbolismo de que la Imprenta alimenta de su cultura a los hombres desde su más tierna infancia por medio de los libros que produce” (*Escudos* 33). The pelican printer’s device constitutes a material intertext on two levels. First, it alludes to Christ’s sacrifice for humankind and reflects upon the poems’ references to Christ as the “ver pellica.” In addition, printers adopted the pelican to stand for their own industry and their financial and professional sacrifices to educate the public.

²⁸ In subsequent centuries, the pelican’s connotations shifted to take on different and even contrary meanings. In Bernadino Daza’s translation of Andrea Alciato’s *Emblemata* (Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1549), for example, the pelican emblem and accompanying verses advise against gluttony (Alciato 239). In the nineteenth century, the pelican allegory shifts to cover the sacrifices of poets, lovers, and patriots (Graham 238-39).

²⁹ I cite Bible verses from the Douay-Rheims translation.

In *La dolorosa*, with its printed, poetic accounts of the Passion, the two pelican analogies come together. In his discussion of the Toledo Manuscript of the *Libro de buen amor* –bound together with the *Visión de Filiberto*, a Spanish version of the Latin genre *Dialogus inter corpus et animam*– John Dagenais comments on readers in the Middle Ages “[r]eading back to the *Libro* after reading the *Visión*” (127). By applying this practice of “reading back” to *La dolorosa*, the pelican printer’s mark at the end of the 1518 imprint becomes a gloss on the Christocentric pelican allegory. Not only do the printers make sacrifices to benefit readers, but Fenollar’s and Martines’s entreaty that Isabel de Villena’s goodness and merit cover their verses shows how poets, in writing and disseminating their writing on religious themes, took certain personal risks so that the public could read Passion texts in their own language. This risk would be compounded after the release of the first *Index of Prohibited Books* in 1551 and the further restrictions on Books of Hours in Spanish in 1573 (Nalle 92).³⁰ Similarly, the pelican printer’s mark, with the border tying together the name “Jhesus” to suffering and loneliness in the Psalms, directs readers’ gaze back to the woodcuts depicting scenes from the Passion.

The textual and visual references to the pelican and the three Passion-related woodcuts that head the devotional poems function as more than allusions to cultural and religious knowledge. They are material intertexts that printers constructed and readers engaged with mind, hands, and eyes as they held *La dolorosa*. Roger Chartier reminds us: “[R]eaders, in fact, never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality [...] They hold in their hands or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading or hearing, and consequently the possible comprehension of the text read or heard” (“Laborers” 50). Thinking

³⁰ On the other hand, the fact that a third edition of *La dolorosa* may have been printed in 1564 presents a strong case that it was not included on the first *Index of Prohibited Books*, although we cannot now ascertain whether any content in the 1564 edition was edited due to the new regulations.

about printed books as material objects circulating within a “communications circuit” (Darnton 67) brings to light the fact that the woodcuts on folio 2v and on 60v are copies of woodblocks from the printing shop of Pablo Hurus and which were, in the latter case, copied and used in Fadrique de Basilea’s imprints as well. Therefore, in addition to discussing how *La dolorosa* joins those texts that bring affective piety and Passion-centered poetry into the sixteenth century, my bibliographical and archival research yields new details of connections between Pablo Hurus’s and Fadrique de Basilea’s imprints and those of Pere Posa. Pablo Hurus’s success in producing imprints attractive to the book-buying public, combined with the risks and expenses associated with printing (Delbrugge 3-4), might have led Pere Posa to copy recognizable woodcuts from Pablo Hurus’s imprints, in a bid to make his own editions more marketable.

The witness to *La dolorosa* in the Biblioteca de Catalunya lacks the third folio. This folio contains the first eight *coblas* of compilation’s initial poem, “La hystoria.” The reverse side of the second folio would face the beginning of “La hystoria” if the witness were complete, with a woodcut image filling most of the space (fig. 2-7). In the foreground, a cleric kneels at the foot of a crucifix, while a tree and buildings populate the background. Pere Posa also used this woodcut image on the title page of *Cobles nouelles de la passió de Jesucrist complides* (Lamarca no. 146; Norton, *Descriptive* no. 211).³¹ As the Latin quote following “La hystoria” suggests (“Qui passus es pro salute nostra,” folio 53v), Christ’s wounds stand in for salvation. The depiction of his suffering evoked pity and devotion to God, as “symbols of enacted *caritas* to which *caritas* responds” (Bynum 15). Pere Posa copied the woodcut illustration of the cleric and crucifix from *Thesoro* (fig. 2-8). This illustration halts the viewer-reader of *La dolorosa* at the pain-for-pain stage. But in *Thesoro*, the image on the subsequent folio (7v) shows the cleric

³¹ See also Martín Abad, *Post-incunables* no. 424. Miquel y Planas reproduces the title woodcut with the cleric and crucifix (vol. 2, 19-20).

levitating to embrace his crucified Lord. *La dolorosa* lacks the visual resolution lent to *Thesoro* by the pair of cleric-crucifix woodcuts. In its stead, the Latin phrase on folio 53v (“Qui passus es pro salute nostra”) directly following the “La hystoria” poem stands in to resolve the pity and compassion felt by the reader into love on the part of God. The materiality of the woodcuts and their interplay with the surrounding text makes this emotional reaction possible for *La dolorosa*’s readers.

In “La hystoria,” Martines composes the stanzas in the voice of *Lo Euangelista*, Saint John, while Fenollar writes the other characters’ speeches: “seguint lo sagrat euangelista sanct/ Iohan. Parlant per aquell Pere/ martineç: e per tots los altres mossen/ Bernat fenollar [according to the sacred evangelist saint/ John. Voiced by Pere/ Martines. and all the others by master/ Bernat Fenollar]” (fol. 3r; Norton, *Descriptive* no. 201).³² The poets composed the verses no earlier than 1463, when Isabel de Villena became abbess, and prior to the printing of the *princeps* in Valencia in 1493 and, likely, prior to 1490, the year of Isabel de Villena’s death, because the *endereça* addresses the abbess as though she is still alive (Garcia Sempere, *Lo passi* 54). “La hystoria” comprises *coblas*, or stanzas, of ten verses. Each verse is divided into hemistiches, usually hexasyllabic, with a colon visually marking the caesura in the 1518 edition. The poem’s action spans the arrest in Gethsemane (*cobla* 2) to Christ’s burial (*coblas* 386-87). The first eight stanzas comprise the dedication to Isabel de Villena; the next three hundred ninety-three form the body of the narrative poem. A final two *coblas* make up the *protestas* of Fenollar and Martines, as they apologize for committing any errors.

Like the prose *Thesoro*, the Passion account in “La hystoria” is interspersed with glosses, teachings, and extra-biblical material. The poem’s stylistic hybridity is characteristic also of Juan

³² This folio is lacking in the witness I have examined in the Biblioteca de Catalunya; I quote here from Norton’s transcription in his entry for *La dolorosa* in his *Descriptive Catalogue*.

de Padilla's *Retablo de la vida de Cristo*, whose first edition Jacobo Cromberger printed in Sevilla in 1505. Yet unlike Li's text, in which the writer's voice is the predominant one, albeit interspersed with quotations from Church authorities such as Bernard, Chrysostomos, and Augustine, the *coblas* of "La hystoria" are assigned to different speakers, so that the poem reads like an extended conversation between *Lo Euangelista* (Saint John) and characters like Christ, Pilate, Mary, the crowd, and the reader. Because much of the poem is presented as a dialogue, Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere characterize it as having "una cierta teatralidad" ("*Lo passi*" 131), with the poets giving the verses and the scenes conjured therein a sense of immediacy to the reader and inviting contemplation and an imagining of the self into the Passion story. The two major sections of the poem relate Christ's trial and an allegorical debate preceding the Passion events (*coblas* 1-379). At this point in the text, a woodcut initial introduces the final phase of the poem which relates the events following Christ's death and Mary's laments (*coblas* 380-400) and Fenollar's and Martines's two concluding stanzas (*coblas* 401-02).

The first *cobla*, spoken in the voice of *La Església*, centers the reader immediately on the key emotion to be evoked by the poem:

Mostrant un greu plànyer lo cel y la terra,
 cubert tot de negre lo temple molt sant,
 senyalen tristor que tot goig desterra.

[Heaven and earth showing a great lament,

The most holy temple covered all in black,

Signal sadness that exiles all joy.] (fol. 3r, *cobla* 1, emphasis added)

The facing folio's woodcut, in which the cleric kneels and scourges himself in response to Christ's suffering on the cross reflects the feelings to which the verses allude: a great lament, a sadness that exiles all joy. The words left by the poet before the caesuras of these three verses, "plànyer," "negre," and "tristor" further illustrate the wretchedness and repentance that underscore the reading of this devotional poem. These emotive words fuel the "intimate scripts" that coded certain emotions such as compassion as feminine in the Middle Ages (McNamer, *Affective* 7-8). The anaphoric and onomatopoeic "Hoÿu" ("alas"), invites a joining of reading with sighing or groaning:

[H]oÿu, cristians, hoÿu contemplant,
 la greu Passió y mort vergonyosa
 del gran redemptor, ver Déu Jesucrist,
 Hoÿu-la, devots, a dos veus, plorosa;
 hoÿu ab trist cant, tenor dolorosa,
 segons sent Johan qui u ha tot ben vist.
 [Alas, Christians, contemplating, alas,
 the great Passion and shameful death
 of the great redeemer, to see Jesus Christ God,
 Alas, faithful, with two voices, weeping;
 alas with sad song, a sorrowful tone,
 according to Saint John who surely saw it all.] (fol. 3r, *cobla* 1)

With "la greu Passió" echoing the "greu plànyer" of the first verse, readers are directly addressed as "cristians" and "devots" who should contemplate the Passion and shameful death of their redeemer.

The poem then transitions to *Lo Euangelista* relating Judas's betrayal of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. The poets then move to Christ's arrest and Pilate's prolonged interrogation of Christ, in which narration from *Lo Euangelista*, interjections from *Los Juheus* (the Jews), and asides from *Lo Lector* (the reader) are interspersed. *Coblas* 147-153 each begin with the same hemistich, "Mirau aci lome" ("Behold the man"). The anaphora in these *coblas* links them to John 19:5, when Pilate famously declared, "Ecce homo."³³ Fenollar amplifies the brief phrase in scripture over seven *coblas*, showing that although the lengthy poem does include narrative and instructional content, the *amplificatio* offers a moment to pause the forward motion and to dwell contemplatively on a scene from Christ's Passion. The repetition of the directive "Mirau," not only in the anaphora, but interspersed throughout the *coblas* in this section highlights the readers' role as spectators and directs their gaze to Christ's person, his pain, the disciples, and the crowd. Simultaneously, *Lo Pilat* utters the commands to "look" directly to readers and thus pulls them into the scene as participants. The relentless emphasis on visuality and the detailed word pictures set before readers of the printed page ensure that they need not depend upon a xylographic illustration to conjure potent images of Christ's Passion. On the other hand, as this chapter has demonstrated with the "Ecce homo" folio in *La passion*, readers would have possessed what Zieman terms "liturgical literacy," or "learned abilities, from those we might qualify as musical (such as solmization), to phonetic decoding skill, to mnemonic techniques, to a variety of grammatical proficiencies," all of which proved useful in the performance of devotional activities (106). Readers had no shortage of images or memories of liturgical events and artifacts they could call to mind to aid in their inward gazing.

³³"Jesus therefore came forth, bearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment. And he [Pilate] saith to them: Behold the Man" (John 19.5).

Of note in “La hystoria” is the debate between the allegorical characters, *La Justícia*, *La Misericòrdia*, and *L’Umanal Linatge* as to whether Christ should allow himself to be sacrificed for humankind (*coblas* 205-63). The debate, a “famous medieval *topos*” (Meany 226), occurs in chapter two of the *MVC* among the events that the Clarissan nun should imagine having taken place prior to the Incarnation (Johannes de Caulibus 12-14; trans. Taney, Miller, and Stallings-Taney 6-7). Isabel de Villena, *La dolorosa*’s dedicatee, includes a similar allegorical debate in the fifteenth chapter of her *Vita Christi* (Twomey 13-14). In *La dolorosa*, the poets place the debate after Pilate’s condemnation of Christ. The placement temporarily distracts readers from the Passion account and obliges them to concentrate on the necessity of Christ’s sacrifice. *La Justícia* insists upon the unfairness of the innocent dying in place of the guilty. *La Misericòrdia* begs for clemency for humankind. *L’Umanal Linatge* settles the matter, proclaiming that Christ must die to redeem sinners, who are otherwise without recourse, as the prophets foretold. Moreover, continues *L’Umanal Linatge*, reproductions of his death in sacred spaces will evermore draw the faithful into contemplative recollection of his sacrifice: “Moriu donchs vos deu per que lom contemple/ Tostemps per retaule en vostre sanct temple/ A vos enla creu ab digne recort [Die, then, O God, so that man may contemplate/ Always on the altarpiece in your holy temple/ You on the cross with worthy remembrance]” (fol. 25v, *cobla* 263).³⁴ At these final words of the allegorical debate, *Lo Euangelista* declares Christ convinced by “tan persuasives/ rahons y tan veres [such persuasive and true reasoning]” (fol. 25v, *cobla* 263) to suffer death on the cross; readers, about to encounter the scenes of the Passion and the Crucifixion played out in verse, should feel an implicit obligation to honor Christ’s choice by

³⁴ See also “La hystoria:” “Puix donchs tal retaule ab tinta vermella/ pintat fos daçots ab tan greus pinzells/ portant yol recort de vostra querella/ sostinga greus penes ab força novella/ puix tant mos peccats son causa daquells” (fol. 22v, *cobla* 157).

enacting the contemplation and remembering described by *L'Umanal Linatge* as they read the ensuing *coblas* and create a mental “retaule” (“altarpiece”) with scenes from the Passion.

Martines, in the voice of *Lo Euangelista*, tracks the inflicting of the wounds, on which readers should meditate, culminating in *cobla* 305:

Dolor enlo cap Jesus deu passaua
 Tenint lo naffrat despines molt grans
 Dolor enlo cors plagat quant penjaua
 Dolor enlos peus pel clau quels naffraua
 Dolor enlos braços dolor en les mans.
 Dolor enlos niruis dolor en les venes
 y en totes les juntes dolor gran y fort
 Dolor en los ossos y ab tan cruels penes
 Destrema dolor ses carns eren plenes
 Ab pena sens limits de tan cruel mort.
 [Pain in his head Jesus God suffered
 Having it wounded by great thorns
 Pain in his body plagued as he hung
 Pain in his feet from the nail that wounded them
 Pain in his arms pain in his hands.
 Pain in his nerves pain in his veins
 and in all his joints great and strong pain
 Pain in his bones and with such cruel struggles
 Of extreme pain His flesh was full

With the infinite suffering of such a cruel death.] (fol. 41r)

Every verse contains references to physical pain. Seven of the ten verses begin with the word “Dolor” including verse nine, with its intensifying modifier of “destrema dolor.” The verses without anaphora still reference suffering. The second verse refers to wounds from the thorns (“tenint lo [lo cap] naffrat”) while verse ten substitutes “pena sens limits” for “dolor.” The placement of suffering body parts before the caesura (“cap,” “cors,” “peus,” “braços,” “niruis,” “juntas,” “ossos”) combined with the word “dolor” at the start of the second hemistich of some verses create a crescendo of “pena sens limits” inescapable for readers. Just as Christ voluntarily chose to suffer for humankind, readers elect to continue engaging verse after painful verse. Words such as these, repeated across devotional texts, became “shorthand code words pointing to many devotional practices, from the inducement of emotion to actual sensations” (Cohen 218). The shift to “pena” in the last verse of the *cobla* prevents the reader from being desensitized to Christ’s suffering through the previous repetition of “dolor.” It also implies an additional mental or emotional suffering leading to contrition (Cohen 30) to accompany the physical torments of one facing “tan cruel mort.”

Lo Lector narrates Christ’s death, the concluding event prior to the material division of the work’s coda, indicated by the decorated woodcut initial before *cobla* 380, reflecting: “tenint yo la pensa ab vos molt vnida/ Que senta la pena de vostres dolors [having my thought with you so united/ That I may feel the suffering of your pains]” (fol. 50r, *cobla* 379). Here, the one holding the book might recall, alongside the poetic *Lo Lector*, that Christ’s death should inspire contemplation and memory of the Passion, making the events immediate on a mental or actual “retaule” (“altarpiece”). *Cobla* 305’s lingering on Christ’s intense pain sharpens *Lo Lector*’s wish that thinking upon Christ’s suffering may cause him to feel that “pena” himself. Pere Posa’s

insertion of Crucifixion woodcuts prior to and following “La hystoria” provides immediate visual representations of Christ’s sacrifice on which readers can focus their thoughts, just as *L’Umanal Linatge* had proposed (fol. 25v, *cobla* 263). The reader need not wait to attend Mass to engage in the memory work that Christ’s death demands. The woodcut illustrations may stand in for the “retaule en vostre sanct temple” (“the altarpiece in your holy temple”), providing readers with a space for private contemplation and prayer (Peña Díaz, *Laberinto* 70-71).

On folio 53v, the folio facing the beginning of the next poem, the “Deuota contemplacio a Jesus crucificat,” Pere Posa inserts Latin phrases above and below the woodcut Crucifixion scene with Mary, John, and the Roman soldiers (fig. 2-2). The text above the image reads “Miserere mei deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam” (fol. 53v). It quotes from the penitential Psalm 50 in the Vulgate, attributed to David following his adulterous pursuit of Bathsheba: “Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea et a peccato meo munda me. [Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy. And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity. Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin]” (Psalm 50:3-4). This Psalm, like many others, had become part of Catholic liturgy in the Middle Ages. It appears several times in the Barcelonese *Ordinarii* published in the sixteenth century, including one from 1501 by the younger Pere Posa’s uncle. The officiant and congregation recite the “Miserere mei” psalm in the service for baptism in the *Ordinarium barchinonense* that the elder Pere Posa printed in Barcelona in 1501

(a4r).³⁵ It appears in a responsive section in which another of the seven penitential psalms, Psalm 101, is recited.

The forty days of Lent constituted a central time of public penitence in the European Catholic Church from the tenth century (Estarán Molinero 20).³⁶ The use of Latin scriptural and liturgical phrases in *La dolorosa*, particularly in the context of penitence and reconciliation of the Lenten liturgies, offers insight into how the younger Pere Posa perceived the work he was producing. When placed above the Crucifixion image, the Psalmist's words invite readers to step into an attitude of penitence and to utter the words of repentance from the Mass. The material intertext of the Maundy Thursday Mass and other liturgical rituals, evoked by Pere Posa's insertion of the "Miserere mei," allows readers imaginatively to place themselves both in Mass and at the foot of the cross among Mary, John, and the soldiers. The entire Psalm needs not be quoted; indeed, the *Ordinarii* and Books of Hours only reference the initial words as well. Whether or not the readers recognized the printed Latin, if they could sound out the words, it is probable that they would have recognized the familiar phrase and its connotations (Kamerick 169). Given the repetition and ritual central to Catholic liturgy, the catchphrase would be enough of a material intertext for a regular Mass-goer to call to mind associations with liturgy, Scripture, and repentance.

It is likely that the younger Pere Posa would have seen, if not helped to produce, a printed *Ordinarium barchinonense*, either with his uncle or with Johan Rosembach, who also printed an

³⁵ *Ordinarium sacramentorum Barchinonense* (Barcelona: Pere Posa [uncle], 1501): Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 6562; USTC 347687; Norton, *Descriptive* no. 91; Martín Abad, *Post-incunables* no. 1154; Biblioteca de Catalunya 10-III-13.

³⁶ In the context of repentance during Lent, seven penitential psalms were read, including Psalm 50, as part of the Maundy Thursday liturgy in the dioceses of Aragón, as well as in Barcelona. Estarán Molinero lists their use in several liturgical texts printed for Aragonese dioceses.

edition of it, possibly in 1508 for the bookseller Joan Trinxer, although no extant witness to the 1508 *Ordinarium* is known.³⁷ Since an *Ordinary* typically comprises a set of invariable texts for the Roman Rite of the Mass that the celebrant and congregation recited (Young 20), it is also reasonable to assume that the younger Pere Posa would have grown up hearing these Latin prayers and responses, either in the church of Santa Maria del Pi, near his uncle's printing shop, or even in the Cathedral of Barcelona, where he and Joana Valliells were married in January of 1513 (Madurell and Rubió no. 297).

Below the same woodcut, Pere Posa added a second Latin fragment: “Qui passus es pro salute nostra miserere nobis” (fol. 53v). This resembles a portion of the Latin prayer to Christ's wounds, “Adoramus te” (Rivera, “Text” 7), which appeared in Books of Hours and which congregants recited during the Stations of the Cross, also on Maundy Thursday or Good Friday: “Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Qui passus es pro nobis, Domine, Domine, miserere nobis [We adore you, Christ, and we bless you, who by your holy cross you redeemed the world. You who suffered for us, Lord, Lord, have mercy on us]” (*Hore* fol. 96v). The first lines of the “Adoramus te” prayer appear in a factotum inset in the Crucifixion woodcut in *La passion* on folio 1³v: “Adoramus te chri/ste et benedicimus tibi. qui per crucem etc.” Rivera affirms that, in *La passion*, “[t]he insertion of the prayer, moreover, situates the readers into the ‘lived’ experience of Christianity” (“Text” 7). As Fadrique de Basilea before him, by including familiar prayers in Latin from Books of Hours and the Holy Week liturgy, Pere Posa added a further dimension to *La dolorosa*. Not only could readers interact affectively with poetry designed to awaken their compassion and pity, they could

³⁷ *Ordinarium sacramentorum Barchinonense* (Barcelona: Juan Rosenbach, [1508]): Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 6563; USTC 347688; Norton, *Descriptive* no. 100; Martín Abad, *Post-incunables* no. 1155; Aguiló y Fustér no. 93. Madurell and Rubió give notice of this edition through document no. 258, dated 18 May 1508.

also contemplate the Crucifixion images and, through the snippets of Latin prayers, bring to mind key moments from the reconciliation Mass and from private devotion that would guide them toward identification with Christ's suffering and repentance.

Only four books, apparently printed in the same year, exist today with colophons identifying Pere Posa as their printer. This is not much information on which to base speculations regarding Pere Posa's activities as a printer. Surviving inventories of the printers with whom he had associations offer some details of his connections and possible inspirations for his printed books. The image of the Crucifixion before the "Contemplació" does not seem to be an exact copy of one of Pablo Hurus's woodblocks. However, it resembles a Crucifixion scene depicted on a woodcut (fol. 92v) in Pablo Hurus's edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje dela tierra sancta*. The elder Pere Posa's autograph inventory lists "De la terra sancta," which, as previously noted, is probably a reference to the Zaragoza edition of this widely-translated and -printed work. If the elder Pere Posa owned a copy or copies of this book, and his nephew had access to it, this could explain how the latter gained access to illustrations used by Pablo Hurus which he then copied.

The "Contemplació" must have been composed prior to 1486, the year in which it was included in a manuscript compilation of *cançoner* poetry, the *Jardinet d'orats* (Garcia Sempere, *Lo passi* 168). The poem contains fifty *coblas* in which authorship alternates between the two poets: the odd *coblas* by Fenollar and the even ones by Escrivà. The *coblas* contain ten decasyllabic verses, except for the pentasyllabic fourth and ninth verses. A caesura, indicated by a colon, divides the hemistiches of each decasyllable. More lyrical than the narrative "La hystoria," the "Contemplació" meditates on key moments of the Crucifixion scene: "Mirant que les lagremes dels seus ulls regauen/ La terra esteril tan desconeixent/ y als vostres sants labis de set ques secauen/ Duna solament/ nous pogue daquelles fer socorriment [Seeing that the

tears from her eyes watered/ the sterile land so unaware/ and to your holy lips from the thirst that dried them/ A single one/ of them could have given relief]" (fol. 59, *cobla* 41). In passages like this one, when Fenollar conjures Mary's tears watering the sterile land instead of quenching Christ's thirst, the use of descriptive words emphasizes the affective appeal.

In its description and exposition as well as the dramatic amplification, "La hystoria" resembles artistic portrayals of Calvary. According to Merback, the busy, crowded, and often multi-episodic medieval and early modern Calvary paintings "exemplif[y] the kind of representation early Church authorities designated with the term *historia* (a story or narrative)" (49). Sara Lipton discusses the ways in which Calvary crowd scenes, in which some individuals depicted appear distracted or disinterested in the central scene, or even gazing pointedly at the viewer, reminded spectators that to observe such a scene, to make oneself present there as a witness and participant, implied a corollary aspect of being seen (252). Readers of "La hystoria" could also imagine themselves concurrently as viewing and viewed, particularly with the presence of *Lo lector* as one of the characters in the poem. In contrast, Merback's explanation of the Crucifixion paintings as "*imago*, a portrayal of the 'likeness' (*eikon* in Greek) of a holy person, one that was suitable for veneration (*latreia*) in the case of saints or worship (*dulia*) in the case of Christ" (49) more closely resembles the content of the "Contemplació." He further elaborates:

As *historia*, then, the Calvary image alleges to show the actuality and temporal unfolding of the event, while its 'devotional' counterparts, like the three-person Crucifixion, take us to the symbolic heart of the action by lifting it away from narrative's flow; what German scholars call *Andachtsbild* (devotional images) is therefore better suited for contemplative immersion and prayer. (Merback 49)

Certainly, as Merback clarifies, the distinction between *historia* and *imago* was not so clean-cut in practice, with *historia* and *imago* being rather “fluid categories” (49). Still, the poem “La hystoria,” like the *historia* of the plastic arts, tends more toward a *mise-en-scène* of the unfolding events, while “Contemplació,” with its closer focus on the Crucifixion itself and its inclusion of the reader in the first-person plural, has an overall more devotional feel.

The first-person plural of the “Contemplació” includes readers in the contemplation of the Passion, making the second poem participatory while “La hystoria” tended more toward poetic dialogue among the characters. Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere categorize it as “esencialmente un texto para la oración personal” (“*Lo passi*” 133). The first poem of *La dolorosa*, then, provides readers with contextual details to prepare them for meditation; by the time they reach the “Contemplació,” they are ready to be drawn into contemplation which will transition to prayer as they arrive at the third poem, the “Oració.” Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere emphasize the involvement of the authors, or speakers, of the *coblas*: “El autor participa en las escenas de la pasión, reflexiona, se arrepiente, reza” (“*Lo passi*” 133); to this, I would add that the reader also participates. The first-person plural of the verses involves the reader with the poetic speakers in contemplation, repentance, and the imitation of Christ:

Naffrem donchs la carn que tant nos contrasta

Puix de vostras naffres exemple tenim

Que sols una gota de vostra sanch basta

Si bens penedim

Levar nos dinfern que tant auorim.

[Let us wound, then, our flesh that so opposes us

For from your wounds an example we have

That only a drop of your blood is sufficient

If we truly repent

To wash us of hell that we so despise.] (fol. 58r, *cobla* 32).

In addition, the image of the Crucifixion and the Latin phrases at the head of the “Contemplació” compel readers’ participation, as they move between visual and verbal devotion with the aim of meditation and prayer.

The first *cobla*, in Catalan, reiterates the Latin prayer fragment below the Crucifixion image on folio 53v, situating the reader in the scene depicted on the facing folio: “Qui deu vos contemple delà creu en l’arbre/ Penjat entre ladres per nostra salut [You whom God contemplates from the cross in the tree/ Hung between thieves for our salvation]” (fol. 54r). *Coblas* 5 and 6 deal speedily with the triumphal entry, the crowd’s preference for Barabbas, Pilate’s symbolic handwashing, and the crushing walk to Calvary (54v), scenes that covered over two hundred *coblas* in “La hystoria.” Rather than expand upon scenes alluded to in Scripture, the “Contemplació” prefers to fix on Christ’s suffering and conjure moments on which readers can focus their meditation. The anaphora of *cobla* 10 illustrates the sort of cyclical rumination in which readers are invited to engage:

Dolor es sens par mirar tal desorde

Quel jutge tan just lo jutgen injusts

Dolor es sens par que vos qui sou orde

E guia dels justs

Sou rey depositat en falsos ajusts

Dolor es sens par mirar que presenten

Bandeix los vassalls al rey tan deuot

Dolor es sens par mirar que turmenten

Ab gran aualot

Los lechs tan peruersos al gran sacerdot.

[It is unequalled pain to behold such disorder

That a judge so just by the unjust be judged.

It is unequalled pain that you who are order

And the guide of the just

Are a destitute king in false settings.

It is unequalled pain to behold them present

The exiled vassals to such a devout king

It is unequalled pain to behold how

With great hate

The laypeople torment the great priest.] (55r, emphasis added)

Four of the ten verses circle back to the “unequaled pain” that characterized the Passion. In three hemistiches, “Dolor es sens par” is followed by the verb “mirar” directly after the caesura. These verses’ syntax clearly links Christ’s pain with spectacle. This was a common technique in affective meditation texts, as McNamer relates: “[R]eading is virtually synonymous with seeing, as the reader is constantly asked to visualize Christ’s sufferings in vivid detail” (*Affective* 134). In the face of this visualized scene, readers’ bodies should respond, as a later *cobla* illustrates: “Donchs ploren los vlls yl cor dur sospire/ Batam nos los pits [Then let the eyes weep and the hardened body sigh/ Let us beat our chests]” (fol. 55v, *cobla* 15). The poem encodes its readers’ physical, performative response to Christ’s suffering, uniting readers with the speaker through the first-person plural in a joint expression of compassion. Arrival at this moment of pity and

compassion prepares readers for the relief that follows in the description of salvific effects of the Passion described fifteen *coblas* later.

The *cobla* introducing Christ's side wound, one of Fenollar's, begins with a chiasmus:

Los vlls ja tancats si par que nons miren
 Teniu lo costat en loc dells vbert
 Mostrant nos lo cor [...]

 [Eyes already closed if it seems they sees us not
 He has his side open in their place
 Showing us his heart (...)] (fol. 57v, *cobla* 29)

The crisscross structure of the first two verses contrasts Christ's closed eyes, a euphemism for his death, with his side having been opened by the lance thrust; also counterposed is Christ's now impossible gaze upon the readers with their intent focus on his pierced side. Scrivà then isolates the wound itself, using the metaphor of a "glorious fountain" with "two rivers," one of water and one of blood, flowing from Christ's side and healing the faithful:

De vera salut o font gloriosa
 Manant del costat del rey eternal
 Ab dos rius cabdals passas habundosa
 Per lampla canal
 Del arbre perfet guarint de tot mal.
 [Oh glorious font of true salvation
 Streaming from the side of the eternal king
 With two rushing rivers you pass abundantly
 Through the wide channel

Of the perfect tree healing all evil.] (fol. 57v, *cobla* 30)

Pere Posa chose a particularly apt woodcut to head the “Contemplació,” despite Aguiló y Fuster’s assessment that it is “muy primitivo” (544). Susan Hagan categorizes this type of textual-visual relationship as “tight typographic interplay,” which could be adapted here as tight xylographic interplay. For Hagan, “Typographic interplay is a tight type of collaboration that identifies the relationship between typographic shape and its potential meaning combined with textual syntax and its content” (53). Like other illustrations of the Crucifixion that show Christ’s pierced side, the woodcut before the “Contemplació” on folio 53v depicts Christ with his eyes closed (“Los vlls ja tancats”). Thus, the chronology of events from John’s Gospel are preserved, with Christ’s death preceding the lance thrust. But unlike the Crucifixion woodcut that precedes the “Contemplació” in the *princeps* from 1493, in which a few scanty lines of blood trickle down Christ’s rib cage, in *La dolorosa*’s woodcut, Christ’s side spurts a small shower of blood and water toward Mary and John, evoking the “font gloriosa/ manant del costat” and establishing a tight interactual relationship between *La dolorosa*’s text and xylographic illustration.

On the opposite side of the cross, a cluster of soldiers gazes at Christ. One soldier, perhaps Longinus himself, extends his arm, bent at a right angle to his body. He reaches out and grips the upright beam of the cross. His thumb wraps around the wood and may be in contact with Christ’s calf. While not scriptural, the portrayal of the soldier represents an instance of drawing near and making oneself present at the time of the Passion. In the Middle Ages, individuals “did not perceive pain of the body as an alienating, isolating and stigmatizing power that banished its bearer beyond the pale of shared experience and meaning,” the way “modern torturers” conceive of it (Merback 20). Rather, to hurt was to connect with others by means of an “intersubjective experience” (20). Here, Merback’s analysis of medieval perceptions of pain

specifically refers to those witnessing public executions. Yet this perception of bodily affliction could apply to “intersubjective” connections between the faithful and Christ, exemplified in the appeals to compassion in affective devotional literature and in the shared moments between Mary, John, and Christ or the soldier and Christ as shown in the woodcut. For Bynum, “[i]t is not so much that we pull Christ toward us when we anatomize him as that he lifts us to heaven” (27). The soldier in the foreground rests his hand on the wood of the cross, while the lances behind him point both toward Christ’s pierced left hand as well as heavenward, performing the same action as Mary’s and John’s gaze on the opposite side. Although Christ has already yielded his spirit at the moment shown in the image, this woodcut shows currents of “intersubjectivity” between the human and divine figures. The gaze of the individuals and, in the case of the soldier, his haptic tie to the cross illustrate various connections that pass from the mortals surrounding the cross through the cross and Christ’s wounded body to God the father.

While the woodcut illustrations repeatedly depict an integral Christ, the verses isolate body parts, holding each up for devout contemplation. As R.N. Swanson observes, “The Passion’s narrative structure allows individual events to be highlighted, or the isolation of particular sequences” (6). The attention to and isolation of Christ’s wounds, as in the “Adoramus te” prayer, was a prevalent technique in prayer books and other medieval devotion (Kamerick 159; Cohen 214-15). Andrés de Li, for example, shows readers how they might recite the prayers in *Thesoro* so that they equal the number of Christ’s wounds, including those from the scourging: “si las dixiere cada día con deuocion por spacio continuo de onze semanas et dos dias mas, quedando le xv para el dia tercero, las haura dicho tantas vezes quantas llagas recibio en su preciosissimo cuerpo el redemptor de humana natura, que fueron v.mil.cccc.lxxv” (fol. 38v). Li also examines the wounds on Christ’s hands and feet and the order in which they were inflicted,

dedicating a separate section to each wound (fols. 95v-97v). Li justifies the individual treatment of each wounded extremity because each injury caused Christ “intollerables et distinctos tormentos, et porende conuino que de cada llaga et tormento se contemplasse vn articulo” (95v). Just as Christ suffered unique pain for each wound inflicted, so should devotees focus on each separately to pity and suffer with the tormented Christ.

Similarly, beginning with *cobla* 44 of the “Contemplació,” Scrivà and Martines attend to different parts of Christ’s body, directing readers’ gaze onto them one by one. Scrivà progresses through Christ’s body by tracing the path of his blood loss, beginning with the blood in his head: “Sentint dolors mil/ Posant vos corona despines tan vil [Feeling a thousand pains/ Wearing the crown of thorns so vile]” (fol. 59v, *cobla* 44). He then moves to “La [sanch] ques en los niruis arteries venes/ Ab pena molt gran perdes per los claus [The (blood) that in your nerves, arteries, veins/ With very great suffering you lose because of the nails],” (fol. 59v, *cobla* 44). Finally, the blood remaining in his body was drawn out “Pel colp dela lança apres deles penes/ En infinits graus [From the lance thrust after the suffering/ In infinite stages]” (fol. 59v, *cobla* 44). The poets then turn to his hands (“O mans sacratissimes [...] cruelment clauadas/ Lo cors sostenint [O holiest hands (...) cruelly pierced/ Holding up the body]” [fol. 59v, *cobla* 45]), return to his head (“Per vostra corona despines tan fera/ Plegant al ceruell [By your crown of thorns so fierce/ Bending to the brain]” [fol. 59v, *cobla* 46]), and finish with his feet (“O peus gloriosos que fes penitencia/ Per nostres peccats descalços anant [O glorious feet that made penitence/ For our sins going barefoot]” [fol. 59v, *cobla* 47]). Some of these depictions dwell on graphic details of the violence inflicted on Christ, a staple of affective spirituality; Franciscan devotion entailed, as the composer of the *Meditationes vite Christi* advises:

[I]ta presentem te exhibeas his que per Dominum Iesum dicta et facta narrantur ac si tuis auribus audires et oculis ea uideres, toto mentis affectu diligenter, delectabiliter et morose [...]. [(Y)ou must place yourself in the presence of whatever is related as having been said or done by the Lord Jesus, as if you were hearing it with your own ears and seeing with your own eyes, giving it your total mental response: with care, delight, and sorrow]. (Johannes de Caulibus 10; trans. Taney, Miller, and Stallings-Taney 4).

At the same time, the poets never fail to link the pain with a positive spiritual outcome: the freedom of the captives (fol. 59v, *cobla* 44), the breaking of chains and the winning of celestial crowns (fol. 59v, *cobla* 46). For this reason, the first verse of *cobla* 48 describes Christ's wounds as a ransom for humans: "Lo preu del rescat pagat en cinch pagues [The price of the deliverance paid in five payments]" (fol. 60r). These "five payments" are soon shown to be "vostres cinch plagues [your five wounds]" (fol. 60r, *cobla* 48), with the number, the rhyme, and the position of the words "cinch pagues" and "cinch plagues" –in the final position of the first and third verses, respectively– linking the concepts in readers' minds.

Christ's wounds and the instruments of his Passion were prominently exhibited in book illustrations of the Mass of Saint Gregory. These illustrations alluded to the Church tradition of Pope Gregory the Great's vision of Christ near his tomb during a Mass in the church of Santa Croce in Rome.³⁸ Books of Hours often included one such image of the suffering Christ, known as the *imago pietatis*, along with "a rubric offering enormous indulgences [...] for those who devoutly repeated before the image the five Paters, five Aves, and a Creed" (Duffy 239). The *imago pietatis* became integral to Passion-centered devotion and the subject of widespread

³⁸ See Scribner (449-51), Kamerick (169-72).

reproductions in Books of Hours and other prayer books. Kamerick shows that the devotional habits of lay persons in England drew heavily upon Books of Hours, which became increasingly available during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the advent of print (155). Peña Díaz affirms that they were printed in Catalan, and thus made available to “las clases populares,” in Barcelona as early as 1483, and that they constituted “el libro más corriente” by the middle of the sixteenth century (“Lecturas” 90).³⁹ Peña Díaz’s examination of 151 inventories of Barcelonese private libraries indicates the broad ownership of Books of Hours across social groups. Prior to 1559, nobles owned 26% of the Books of Hours listed on the inventories Peña Díaz studied; clergy owned 23%; and artisans and merchants owned 36% (*Laberinto* 290). In the case of each group, Peña Díaz found more listings for Books of Hours than inventories, suggesting that some individuals owned multiple copies (*Laberinto* 290).

While the indulgenced prayers cited above were frequently paired with *imago pietatis* depictions in prayer books, Duffy also points out that “[a]ny prayer accompanying the image, whatever its detailed content, became in effect a prayer to the wounds which the Imago Pietatis so vividly represented” (239). Folio 2⁵r in *La passion* is one such non-indulgenced *imago pietatis* woodcut, accompanied by the Latin Bonaventure prayer mentioning Christ’s wounds and the *arma Christi* as well as the Spanish “oracion muy deuota al crucifijo.” *La dolorosa* presents an alternate iteration of the *imago pietatis*’s *mise-en-page* by matching a different image, that of the Deposition, with the “Adoro te,” the prayer most frequently placed alongside an *imago pietatis* (Appendix 1). Attributed to Saint Gregory, the “Adoro te” prayer features seven brief prayers dedicated to Christ’s Passion, death, resurrection, and ascension and was habitually paired in Books of Hours with illustrations of the Mass of Saint Gregory (Duffy 239). *La passion*

³⁹ Their popularity in Iberia was short-lived, though, as the 1559 *Index of Prohibited Books* includes them on account of the liberties editors sometimes took with their contents (Peña Díaz, “Lecturas” 92-93).

references this prayer, “Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, in cruce pendentem,” within the Crucifixion factotum woodblock on folio 2³v, while *La dolorosa* also cites it fragmentally above the Deposition image on folio 60v. The respective layouts of, first, the *imago pietatis* joined with the Bonaventure prayer in *La passion* and, second, the Deposition image placed below the “Adoro te” prayer in *La dolorosa* demonstrate how printers crafted the *mise-en-page* of devotional books to encourage devotional involvement of readers.

Despite the recurrent association of the “Adoro te” prayers and the *imago pietatis* in prayer books, the seven “Adoro te” prayer stanzas’ content does not particularly lend itself to meditation on Christ’s wounds. The prayers barely allude to the wounds at all, but rather touch on the Passion, then turn to Christ’s death, descent to hell, resurrection, ascension, and salvation that Christ offers sinners. On the contrary, the Bonaventure prayer that Fadrique de Basilea inserts below his *imago pietatis* woodcut is a closer thematic match, with both clearly dwelling upon the wounds of Christ. Similarly, while the “Adoro te” prayer was most often seen alongside the *imago pietatis*, Pere Posa places the prayer above a Deposition illustration.

When Pere Posa placed the “Adoro te” prayer phrases above an illustration of the Deposition, he was simultaneously evoking Books of Hours and moving away from the traditional association of this prayer with the *imago pietatis*. On folio 60v, above the woodcut figures taking Christ from the cross, the Barcelonese printer located the prayer in a more fitting context given the fragments he chooses to cite: “O domine Jesuchriste adorote in sepulchro positum myrrha et aromatibus conditum / deprecor te ut vulnera tua sint remedium anime mee,” (fol. 60v). These lines come from the third and second of the seven prayers of Gregory the Great, respectively. Each of the seven comprises two sentences. In the case of the first three prayers, all relate to the Passion and include a sentence of worship (“Adoro te domine Jesu Christe”) and a

sentence of petition (“Deprecor te ut [...]”). Quoted in full and in order, the second and third prayers read:

O Domine Iesu, adoro te in cruce vulneratum, felle et aceto potatum. *Deprecor te, ut vulnera tua sint remedium animae meae.*

O Domine Iesu, adoro te in sepulcro positum, myrrha et aromatibus conditum.

Deprecor te, ut tua mors sit vita mea.

[O Lord Jesus, I adore you wounded on the cross, having drunk gall and vinegar. I beseech you, that your wounds be the remedy of my soul.

O Lord Jesus, I adore you placed in the tomb, anointed with myrrh and spices. I beseech you, that your death be my life.] (Gregory the Great, emphasis added; translation mine)⁴⁰

The italicized portions of the prayers, those Pere Posa chose to place above the Deposition woodcut, apply particularly well to the visual representation of the Descent from the Cross, preparatory to the Entombment. Joseph of Arimathea stands in for the tomb (*sepulcrum*) he gave over for Christ’s body, while the women cradling Christ’s body would later approach the tomb to anoint that same body with myrrh and spices (*myrrha et aromata*) for burial, as related in Saint John’s Gospel:

And after these things, Joseph of Arimathea (because he was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews) besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus. [...] And Nicodemus also came, (he who at the first came to Jesus by night,) bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes [...]. They took therefore the body of Jesus, and bound it in linen cloths, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is

⁴⁰For more information regarding the provenance of the “Adoro te” prayer, see Duffy 239-41.

to bury. Now there was in the place where he was crucified, a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein no man yet had been laid. There, therefore, because of the parasceve of the Jews, they laid Jesus, because the sepulchre was nigh at hand. (John 19:38-41)

Pere Posa diverges from *Lo passi en cobles*, the first edition of *La dolorosa*, by inserting this and other Latin phrases, as with the quotes appearing above and below the woodcut heading the “Contemplació.” In this case, his innovation suggests how an early modern layperson might have learned and reproduced liturgical matter. He quotes phrases from the prayers out of order, with the first sentence describing the burial and the second the wounds. Pere Posa could have intentionally quoted a mixed version of the prayer. Alternately, the compositor may have misremembered it, in which case these Latin phrases may hint at practices of partially memorizing frequently heard and seen Latin phrases, but without adequate command of the language to quote fully and correctly.

The inclusion of these fragments of the “Adoro te” prayer indicate an intention to tap into late medieval devotional culture through the *mise-en-page* of *La dolorosa*. As Duffy discusses, “Most of the *Horae* contained the so-called Hours of the Cross, and the full text of the Passion narrative from St John’s Gospel, the central text of the Good Friday liturgy” (237). The material intertext of the woodcut combined with the Latin quote alludes to Books of Hours and devotional books like *La passion* and *Thesoro* while at the same time evoking key moments of Church liturgy, as in the recitation of the Passion account from John’s Gospel, the base text for the three devotional poems included in *La dolorosa*, during Good Friday Masses, the moment of the Church calendar most focused on the suffering of Christ during his Passion. Readers engaging with *La dolorosa* would encounter material intertexts such as woodcut images of the Crucifixion

and Deposition, Latin allusions to *Horae* prayers and the Mass, and an account of the Passion based in John's Gospel that provided a dynamic devotional experience as they not only made meaning within the context of *La dolorosa*, but also brought to mind other specific moments of public and private devotion.

La dolorosa concludes with a final poem, the “Deuota oracio ala sacratissima verge maria tenint son fill deu Jesus enla falda deualat de la creu” by Joan Roís de Corella, which may have been composed between 1470 and 1485, with other Marian poetry that he wrote (Garcia Sempere 54). The shortest of the three poems in *La dolorosa*, it comprises seven *coblas* of eight decasyllabic verses each. As in “La hystoria” and the “Contemplació,” each verse's hemistiches are separated with a colon at the caesura. Roís de Corella's poem-prayer was well-circulated in the fifteenth century and printed in other texts besides *Lo passi en cobles* and *La dolorosa* (see Garcia Sempere, *Lo passi* 168).

Roís de Corella translated Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* into Catalan (the Passion tome is the one titled *Lo quart del Cartoxà*). This translation “tuvo una gran repercussion en la literature devota de su época, incluso antes de su publicación (Valencia, 1495-1500), como se advierte en el relato de la pasión de la *Vida de Jesucrist*, de sor Isabel de Villena” (Ferrando Francés and Garcia Sempere 127). Two editions of *Lo quart* were printed in Valencia in 1495, one in February and one in November, according to the colophons.⁴¹ These Valencian editions precede Isabel de Castilla's commissioned Spanish translation from Ambrosio de Montesino, published in Alcalá de Henares by Estanislao Polono in 1502-1503. In each of these editions, the verso of the table of contents contains the “Deuota oracio” (Aguiló y Fuster nos. 880, 881). The inclusion of Roís de Corella's poem with Ludolph's classic of affective devotion suggests that

⁴¹ Garcia Sempere lists January and November in her critical edition of *Lo passi en cobles 1493* (168).

the printers considered the verses to be a complementary text or even a gloss on the translated material. Pere Posa, by placing Roís de Corella's poem last in *La dolorosa* was likely following this pre-established pattern, although his *mise-en-page* places the "Oració" alongside the other two poems in a clear progression of preparation-contemplation-prayer, whereas the *Lo quart* volumes appear to consider it as more of an afterthought, printed on the verso of the editions' indices.

Like the sixteenth-century Passion treatises that Boon studies ("Agony"), Roís de Corella's poem foregrounds Mary's reactions to Christ's suffering and demise as well as readers' pity for mother and son. In the first *cobla*, the poetic speaker includes the readers in a first-person plural, describing their collective compassion for the Virgin as she cradles her son on her "castes faldes" (fol. 61r, *cobla* 1). The speaker then focalizes Mary's tears, how her weeping could rinse Christ's wounds even as his blood washes away sin (fol. 61r, *cobla* 2). Mary's heart is split with pain, while the heavens, draped in black, mourn with her (fol. 61r, *cobla* 3). *Coblas* 4 and 5 contain Mary's lament in her own words, including the often-seen prayer for her own demise (fol. 61r); these coplas hearken back to the references to Mary's co-suffering in the "Contemplació" (fol. 58r, *cobla* 35). The sixth verse of this copla, "Pensant que sens vos restaua deserta [Thinking that without you I was left deserted]," is one of only two decasyllabic verses in the "Contemplació" without a colon to mark the caesura, suggesting that this thought of the Virgin's was so shattering that it could break the habitual structure of the poem.⁴² The poem concludes with two final *coblas* in which the speaker and readers pledge their bodies and lives as a fragrant sacrifice and express hope for the resurrection (fol. 61v, *coblas* 6-7). Readers, with Roís de Corella, finish the imprint by joining in a prayer directly addressing Christ and outlining

⁴² The other is verse 8 of *cobla* 46 on folio 59v.

action steps for the anticipated recompense of the devotional activities in which they have engaged while reading. The pelican printer's device situated below the final *cobla* of the "Oració" confirms this hope by reminding readers of the Christological allegory. The first phrases of the colophon read: "A lahor e gloria de nostre senyor: e a salvacio deles animes nostres" (fol. 61v). These sentences, below the pelican woodcut, offer a simultaneous reference to each interpretation of the bird: an acknowledgement of Christ's sacrifice that saves souls and a nod to the efforts of printers, whose labors enable readers to engage in these soul-saving devotional practices.

Pere Posa's printing in 1518 of a fifteenth-century devotional book in verse, with Latin quotations around the woodcuts, and at least two woodcuts with sources in well-known devotional books from the fifteenth century corroborates Whinnom's data regarding the ongoing printing and, most likely, consumption of late medieval devotional texts in the early modern period ("Problem" 193). *La dolorosa* both underscores and pushes beyond Peña Díaz's investigations regarding the continuing presence of incunables and earlier titles in sixteenth century personal libraries. Not only did Pere Posa deem there to be ample interest among Barcelonese book purchasers for a new edition of Fenollar's, Martines's, Scrivà's, and Roís de Corella's Passion-focused poetry, he also considered the *mise-en-page* of the *princeps* to merit an update that included the insertion of Latin liturgical phrases as well as more plentiful and more varied woodcut illustrations. The reprinting of *La dolorosa* closely coincides with Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros's reforms of the Castilian Catholic Church between 1495 and 1517. Boon characterizes the Cisnerian reforms as having an increased attentiveness in devotional books, *retablos*, and other materials to Christ's and Mary's literally and figuratively wounded bodies ("Agony" 50); Christ and his mother's suffering physicality figures prominently

in all three poems. *La dolorosa*'s new textual and visual elements would have increased the marketability of the new edition and, moreover, would have brought Pere Posa's version of *La dolorosa* more in line with the "devotional dynamics" first promoted in Iberia during the reign of Isabel de Castilla and Fernando de Aragón by the monarchs themselves as well as ecclesiastical authorities such as Hernando de Talavera (Rivera, "Visualizing" 4-6). This chapter has asserted that, in assessing the market, Pere Posa looked back to Pablo Hurus's imprints for inspiration and availed himself of what I have framed as material intertexts to lend appeal and functionality to his reedition.

In her study of categories of illustration, Martha Driver elaborates upon the concept of "influential prototypes" as a way to trace the "conscious construction of a grammar of images" in religious codices marketed toward laypeople (72, 75). Like influential prototypes, but encompassing content beyond illustration, material intertexts offer clues to "relationships between printers" as well as "the way a printer perceives a text, [...] and with the way he chooses to present this text to his audience" (72). Material intertextuality includes images with other material aspects of printed books such as the layout of pages that condition devotional practices or the interplay of text and image that trains readers "to interact with the Passion narrative in order to fashion a religious self" (Rivera, "Visualizing" 23). The material intertexts among *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* provide examples of how printers used and re-used Passion-centered visual paradigms in conjunction with printed reproductions of utterances coinciding with public and private commemorations of the Passion, such as the "Adoramus te" prayer or the penitential psalms. While the content of *La dolorosa* closely resembles religious *cancionero* poetry of Castilla, its *mise-en-page* is more closely aligned with late fifteenth-century devotional books like *La passion* and *Thesoro*. Material intertextuality in *La passion*, *Thesoro*,

and *La dolorosa* encompasses the similarity and recycling of their illustrations as well as the multi-modal layout that appealed to a performative devotional reading experience focused on contemplation of the Passion. The sharing of woodcut designs across devotional texts in Spanish and Catalan transfers to an Iberian context Coldiron's reminder that the history of the book spans geographic and linguistic boundaries (283). In the multilingual Crowns of Castilla and Aragón, material intertextuality among imprints with Passion-centered content allows them to be grouped by visual program, rather than divided by language, and promotes an inter-linguistic study through the lens of print culture in which these works, their creators, and their readers co-exist and inform each other. These imprints, like the pelican standing for Christ and the printing industry, possess a dual interpretation. Their literary content offers insight into the devotional practices that they fostered and from which they grew; at the same time, they exist as material objects that trace networks of inspiration and collaboration on the part of those who produced them.

Chapter Three

“Estant Amadis Gaulois & non Espagnol?” The Printing of *Amadís de Gaula* in Iberia and France⁴³

A youthful Ignatius of Loyola, convalescing from injuries incurred in battle, would have been glad to pass his idle hours reading books of chivalry, but had to console himself with lives of the saints and of Christ (O'Reilly 637). François I enjoyed better fortune for, according to a story built more on hopeful extrapolation than documentary evidence, none other than *Amadís de Gaula* solaced the French king during his year of captivity in Spain under Carlos V (Pinet, “Chivalric” 85; Bideaux 59). The sharp rivalry between François I and Carlos V played out, in part, during the Italian Wars in which the Emperor sought control of the Italian city-states and the French king defended his possession of Milan. On 24 February 1525, imperial forces overwhelmed the king and his army at Pavia (Knecht 218-25). Carlos V's soldiers captured

⁴³ This chapter was supported by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese of the University of Kansas under the Vicky Unruh Research Travel Award and by the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Kansas under the Exter Marguerite Memorial Prize.

François I and, by August 1525, the king arrived in Madrid where he prepared for lengthy negotiations for peace and his release (243). Marguerite de Navarre arrived in time to parley on her brother's behalf, as well as to nurse the king (245). It may have been during his illness that François I discovered *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. Alternately, Marguerite, a poet and writer herself, or one of his vassals may have undertaken to read to the king. What better salve for the wounded pride of François I, known for his bravery and his romancing, than the exploits of the lover-knight Amadís? Perhaps the king thought, as the negotiations to end his own captivity stretched on, that it was time to bring Amadís back to Gaula. The materiality of the Spanish language edition from which the French translator worked and the conditions under which *Amadís de Gaula* became *Amadis de Gaule* constitute a compelling history in which material intertextuality and printing as a technique of translation play key roles.

This chapter extends material intertextuality, employed in Chapter Two for the analysis of Iberian devotional books, to explore the printing dynamics that shaped the Iberian *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula: nueuamente impresos et hystoriados en Seuilla* (Sevilla: Jacobo and Juan Cromberger, 1526) and the French *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540) in the sixteenth century. The typography of Janot's editions of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* departs from habitual techniques for printing books of chivalry, particularly those cultivated in Iberia and evinced in the Cromberger edition of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. Using material intertextuality, this chapter engages how these apparently disparate imprints, when put into dialogue across linguistic and geographic frontiers, show how the lens of print culture reconfigures genre categories used in the academy to classify literary texts, categories whose borders were blurred in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The manuscript and print history connecting the Iberian *Amadís de Gaula* to the French *Amadis de Gaule* spans both regions and nearly two centuries. The *cancionero* poetry of courtiers Pero Ferrús (d. 1379?) and Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407) attests to the existence of an *Amadís de Gaula* at least as early as the fourteenth century. Pero Ferrús mentions an *Amadís* “en tres libros” (qtd. in Rodríguez Velasco, *Amadís* xxiv), while Pedro López de Ayala bemoans his youthful indulgence in “Amadís, Lançarote e burlas asacadas” (qtd. in Cirlot 16-17). In Zaragoza in 1508, Jorge Coci produced the earliest extant incunable, *Los quatro libros del Virtuoso cauallero Amadís de Gaula: complidos*, which comprises Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo’s emended versions of the first three books, plus his own original fourth.⁴⁴ The Cromberger press in Sevilla reused some of the illustrations from its *La historia delos nobles caualleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus Dalgarbe* (1507) in Jacobo and Juan Cromberger’s edition of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. The first extant Cromberger edition of the latter was printed in 1526, although at least one edition preceded it in 1511. Juan Manuel Cacho Bleuca traces the woodcut illustrations in the six extant Cromberger editions of *Amadís* to this lost 1511 edition (“Los grabados” 64). Of the Cromberger editions of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, the edition from 1526 is particularly relevant to this chapter as Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts used it to produce the first French translation of this book of chivalry (Bideaux 64).

Given the earlier rich manuscript tradition of the Arthurian legends in the French Middle Ages, it is unsurprising that François I’s subjects eagerly welcomed *Amadís* home (Pettegree 114). Nicolas de Herberay paved the way with the proprietary account of a long-lost Picard *Amadis de Gaule* manuscript, invented in his prologue to the translation of *Le premier livre de*

⁴⁴ Jorge Coci collaborated with Pablo Hurus in the final years of the fifteenth century and had taken over his printing business by 1504 (Delgado Casado 145).

Amadis de Gaule, asserting, “il est tout certain qu’il fut premier mis en nostre langue Françoise, estant Amadis Gaulois, & non Espagnol” (Herberay 166).⁴⁵ Nicolas de Herberay’s assertive visibility on the title page and in the prologue of his translation moves to erase *Amadis de Gaula*’s origins in an Iberian socio-historical context as well as the Spanish language source text’s Iberian author, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo. This mode of translation stands in sharp contrast to the twentieth- and twenty-first-century Anglo-American conception of translation critiqued by Lawrence Venuti as an “illusion of transparency” (*Translator’s* 1) that involves “a weird self-annihilation” (*Translator’s* 8) while purporting to offer, untarnished, the original author’s voice in a non-original language.⁴⁶

The present chapter begins by examining material intertexts in the Crombergers’ *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, *La historia delos nobles caualleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus Dalgarbe*, and *Thesoro dela passion sacratissima de nuestro redemptor* (Sevilla, 1517) by Andrés de Li.⁴⁷ It traces the Crombergers’ editorial decisions for these three imprints, which include the base text for the French *Amadis de Gaule*, indicating how their choices influenced reading practices. The chapter then turns to how the first French *Amadis de Gaule*’s printer, Denis Janot, used typography to negotiate authorship and authority as he “translated” *Amadís de Gaula*’s *mise-en-livre* even as Nicolas de Herberay translated its text. Examining the Crombergers’ choices for *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* establishes how material intertextuality can create points of continuity between books of chivalry and earlier devotional imprints. The study of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* also provides a point of departure

⁴⁵ I cite folios –or signatures when foliation is not provided– when making an observation about the materiality of the imprints. For quotations from the prologues or narratives themselves, I quote from the critical editions included in the Works Cited list.

⁴⁶ Francomano discusses the early modern privileging of translators over authors in the context of *Cárcel de amor* (48-49).

⁴⁷ Pablo Hurus’s 1494 and 1496-1498 editions of *Thesoro* are addressed in Chapters Two and Four.

from which to analyze translation as an aspect of print culture in the first French edition of *Amadis de Gaule*. Denis Janot's *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* interrupts printing conventions for books of chivalry not merely for innovation's sake, but to translate *Amadis de Gaule* typographically and to corroborate Nicolas de Herberay's claim of Amadis's Gallic heritage in the printed books' materiality.⁴⁸

Printing *Amadís de Gaula*: Chivalry, Devotion, and Material Intertextuality

While Denis Janot printed each *Amadis de Gaule* book separately, probably preferring to deliver them to the book-buying public as soon as possible rather than wait until Nicolas de Herberay had translated all four of the first books, the Spanish language editions published the first four books of *Amadís de Gaula* together. Jorge Coci's Zaragoza edition of *Los quatro libros del Uirtuoso cauallero Amadis de Gaula: complidos*, dated 30 October 1508, has a single large-scale woodcut on the title page depicting a mounted knight with drawn sword on a rearing steed. A banderole with "Amadis de Gaula" in gothic type unfurls to the left and behind the knight. The imprint is printed in folio with the text arranged in two columns and gothic types in three sizes (Norton, *Descriptive* no. 625; Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 16414).⁴⁹ Subsequent printers chose not to replicate Jorge Coci's edition, despite the economy of its unillustrated narrative. In this way, the development and consolidation of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*'s printerly aesthetic recalls the print history of *Cárcel de amor*. Francomano describes how *Cárcel de amor* became recognizable to readers once its printers established its 'look,' systemizing the typographical and visual code by repetition in multiple editions over more than fifty years (112). After an unillustrated first edition of *Cárcel de amor* (Sevilla, 1492) by the Cuatro Compañeros

⁴⁸ Coldiron's *Printers without Borders* provides a theoretical basis for treating printing and translating as "co-processes" and analyzes several cases of how printers typographically "Englished" the translated texts they printed (2).

⁴⁹ The British Library holds the only extant witness to this edition.

Alemanes (Pablo de Colonia, Juan Pegnitzer, Magno Herbs de Fils, and Thomas Glockner), printers in Iberia and beyond began to follow the pattern set by the image-rich edition (Zaragoza, 1493) of Pablo Hurus (Francomano 112).⁵⁰

As with *Cárcel de amor*, the illustrated Cromberger edition of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* set the standard that printers followed in Iberia and in major European printing centers like Venice. A catalogue of Hernando Colón's library lists a now-lost illustrated *Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla, 1511).⁵¹ Although the entry mentions no printer, Cacho Blecua considers it likely that Jacobo Cromberger produced it and surmises that other lost, illustrated *Amadís de Gaula* editions may have preceded it ("Los grabados" 64). In part, Cacho Blecua bases his attribution on the frontispiece of Juan de Mena's *La coronación* (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1512) because it employs woodcut images specific to the *Amadís* story ("Los grabados" 81). Jacobo and Juan Cromberger's *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla, 1526) contains an illustrated title page printed in red and black ink, a full-page illustration before Book Four, and one hundred thirty-six woodcut illustrations, with forty-three in Book One alone.⁵² *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* has three hundred leaves in folio, mainly in quires of eight. The text is printed in two columns with gothic types in three sizes and decorated initials.⁵³ The

⁵⁰ Chapter Two discusses Pablo Hurus's printing of devotional literature.

⁵¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus* no. 4139. Edwin Place transcribes Huntington's facsimile edition of the catalogue: "Los quatro libros de amadis de gaula corregidos por garci ordoñez de montaluo. [...] Imp. hispali anno 1511 20º martii est in folio 2 col. cum figuris" (xviii, emphasis original). See also Norton, *Descriptive* no. 1008; Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 16418.

⁵² Griffin lists the signatures in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (no. 260). See also Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 16431.

⁵³ I have used the digital facsimile of the exemplar housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, shelfmark res-454-v. Other witnesses are held by Trinity College, Dublin; the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris; and the Biblioteca Arcivescovile Cardinale Pietro Maffi, Pisa.

Cromberger press released subsequent editions of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* in 1531, 1535, 1539, 1547, and 1552.⁵⁴

Griffin's study of the Crombergers' press in Sevilla demonstrates that the Andalusian city was a printing center known for its use of illustrations in printed books and that the Crombergers carved a sizeable and enduring niche for themselves in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century book market by producing highly illustrated editions intended for the amusement, devotional use, and historical instruction of their consumers (*Crombergers* 184, 186). The press's founding printer, Jacobo Cromberger, was a German born in the early 1470s with connections to Estanislao Polono and Meinardo Ungut in Sevilla (Delgado Casado 171). Jacobo Cromberger worked as Polono's partner until 1503. Having married Comincia de Blanques, Ungut's widow, in 1499, Jacobo Cromberger began operating independently in 1504. His son, Juan, was his collaborator and heir. In the interval between 1525 and Jacobo's death in 1529, the colophons on their imprints variously list Jacobo by himself and, at other times, with his son (Norton, *Descriptive* 284). The Crombergers' printing business was active in Sevilla until the mid-sixteenth century, continuing under the oversight of other both female and male family members (Griffin, *Crombergers* 14), and included a branch in the Americas, which was the continent's first printing press (Delgado Casado 170).

Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula acts as a nexus in this chapter among chivalric and devotional imprints printed by the Crombergers in Sevilla in the earlier part of the sixteenth century and Nicolas de Herberay's translation of Book One of *Amadis de Gaule*, printed by Denis Janot in Paris in 1540. While each edition possesses idiosyncrasies that may be traced to

⁵⁴ Editions with typographical ties to the Cromberger editions were printed in Rome in 1519 and in Venice in 1533 (Cacho Bleuca, "Los grabados" 65; Griffin, *Crombergers* 193). I examined witnesses to the 1547 Cromberger edition and both Italian editions in the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

individual writer-adapters, translators, printers, and local readers or consumers, the imprints highlighted in this chapter also include material intertexts that reveal a genealogy, or shared parentage. The Crombergers' editorial choices for the *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* aligned this imprint with Iberian printing conventions for other books of chivalry. But the Crombergers, like Denis Janot, also had their own house style that influenced how they arranged the layout of their printed books. Janot's blend of format, typeface, illustration, and use of white space helped him 'translate' *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* not only into a French language imprint, but into an imprint that reflected the taste and expectations of French book buyers. Similarly, material intertexts in the visual program of the Crombergers' *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* contain allusions to *Oliveros* and *Thesoro*, increasing the probability that readers would have approached these books of chivalry and devotional books with some of the same viewing strategies.

The French language *princeps* of *L'histoire d'Olivier de Castille et de Artus Dalgarbe, son tres loyal compaignon* was printed in Geneva some twenty to fifty years after its composition (Corfis 1).⁵⁵ Jean de Croy, a knight mentioned in the Spanish prologue, ordered Philippe Camus to translate the tale from Latin to French; from there, "algunos castellanos discretos y desseosos de oyr las grandes cauallerias de los caualleros & hermanos en armas" had the text translated into Spanish (Corfis 45). The *princeps* (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1499) was "empremida con mucha diligencia" (45).⁵⁶ It uses two sizes of gothic types arranged in a single column with decorated initials; woodcut illustrations head forty-one of the chapters. The first twenty-one

⁵⁵ The first edition is dated 1482 but lacks a printer's name; it is attributed to Cruse, who printed the second edition in Geneva prior to 1492 (Corfis 1).

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 16719. The use of Fadrique de Basilea's unique and characteristic *calderón* makes this attribution certain although the colophon does not name the printer. There are two extant witnesses to the Burgos 1499 edition, held by The Hispanic Society of America and the Biblioteca de Catalunya. This latter witness, shelfmark Bon. 9-III-12, is the one I have examined. For more information on Fadrique de Basilea, see Chapter Two.

woodcuts are labelled with letters in alphabetical order. The woodcuts correspond to the text block width and are approximately seventeen lines tall; the woodcut illustrating the final chapter is an exception, as it occupies about half the folio. Fadrique de Basilea based the layout and decorative elements in his Spanish language edition (Burgos, 1499) on Louis Cruse's second edition (Lucía Megías, *Oliveros* 7). At the same time, Fadrique de Basilea prepared his edition according to "modelos editoriales previos" (Lucía Megías, *Oliveros* 7) even as he joined those who repeatedly linked typographical characteristics to printed books of chivalry. As Lucía Megías notes, features like ornate title pages, folio format, gothic types, decorated initials, and woodcuts filling the width of the text block were not in themselves unique to chivalric imprints; however, the repeated use of these typographical elements in conjunction with books of chivalry came to evoke that genre (Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 49-50), an instance of material intertextuality at work.

Jacobo Cromberger issued another illustrated edition of *Oliveros* (Sevilla, 1507), with the formal similarities to other Iberian books of chivalry that Fadrique de Basilea had employed with the *Oliveros princeps*.⁵⁷ Cromberger's folio edition consists of thirty-four leaves in two-column format with gothic types in two sizes. Thirty-four of the chapters include a woodcut illustration, some of which are repeated. In *Oliveros*, as in the Crombergers' *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, the woodcut illustrations fit the text column width. Of these, eight also form part of the corpus of woodcuts employed in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* and link the two chivalric tales through material intertextuality.⁵⁸

Fadrique de Basilea's *princeps* as well as Jacobo Cromberger's edition in 1507 attempt to comply with the instructions of the *Oliveros* prologue, that they should place "en cada capitulo

⁵⁷ Norton, *Descriptive* no. 771; Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* 16722.

⁵⁸ Griffin, *Descriptive* WC: 405, 412, 413, 420, 423, 425, 426, and 459.

su ystoria, porque fuesse mas fructuosa & aplazible a los lectores & oydores” (Corfis 45). In point of fact, neither printer manages to include a woodcut for every one of the seventy-seven chapters. The Burgos 1499 has forty-one illustrations or “ystorias,” while the Sevilla 1507 has thirty-four. Fadrique de Basilea’s woodcuts exhibit a close relationship with the *Oliveros* narrative. Conversely, Jacobo Cromberger’s *Oliveros*, like the Cromberger *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, tends to employ generic woodcuts. As Griffin explains, the “formulaic nature” of books of chivalry permitted the use of an equally formulaic set of woodcuts which could be found “without incongruity more than once in each work” (*Crombergers* 193). In addition, the use and reuse of generic woodcuts creates material intertextuality among the imprints in which they appear.

Readers’ engagement with the woodcuts in the Cromberger editions of *Oliveros* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* involved a creative application of a nonspecific chivalric woodcut to a given episode’s specific context. Upon encountering the material intertext of a recycled woodcut in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, readers might recall the context in *Oliveros* in which they had seen the same woodcut and draw parallels between the accompanying textual episodes. Just as a title page with a large woodcut illustration of a knight and the title in bold gothic types came to be associated with Iberian books of chivalry, the repeated insertion of the woodcuts in chivalric scenes could lead readers to anticipate the content that would follow the illustration. For example, the woodcut depicting a chaotic fight among a group of mounted and afoot knights (Griffin, *Descriptive WC*: 405) appeared in chapter 41 (C3r) of *Oliveros* and chapter 40 (fol. 70v) of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. In *Oliveros*, the chapter heading that precedes the woodcut, “Dela batalla que houo Oliueros con los reyes de Yrlanda & como los vencio” (Corfis 75), reveals the outcome of the battle and alleviates readers’

suspense even before they engage the woodcut, with its hectic depiction of entangled, armored limbs. If readers of chapter 40 of *Amadís de Gaula*, “Cómo la batalla pasó que Amadís avía prometido hacer con Abiseos y sus dos hijos en el castillo de Grovenesa a la hermosa niña Briolanja, en vengança de la muerte del Rey su padre” (604), recalled the woodcut from a previous reading of *Oliveros*, they might also remember the hero’s victory. This memory, along with a growing expectation of Amadís’s ability to defeat almost any foe, would act as a material intertext alluding to a previous battle’s positive outcome and attributing an as-yet unpronounced success for Amadís’s battle.

Fadrique de Basilea’s *Oliveros* as well as the Crombergers’ *Oliveros* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* maintain a dense *mise-en-page*, although Fadrique de Basilea employed a single-column format and the Cromberger editions use two columns. The “principe de remplissage maximal de la page” (Chatelain 44) is clearly a value for Fadrique with his *Oliveros*. The single occasion on which he used a square woodcut that fills up less of the text block, he framed it with two side pieces (fol. 51r). In this way, the illustrated space on folio 51r more closely resembles the rectangular woodcuts in the rest of the imprint that occupy the full column width. One typographical element that loosens the tight sequential linkage of the *mise-en-page* is that Fadrique de Basilea didn’t seem to mind if a chapter title and the associated woodcut are separated by a page break. In the Cromberger *Oliveros*, woodcuts are generally surrounded on two or three sides by the two columns of text. While Fadrique de Basilea’s *Oliveros* exhibits frequent page breaks between chapter titles and woodcut illustrations, a page break separates the chapter headings and woodcuts in Cromberger’s *Oliveros* on only two occasions (C3v and E6v). C3v and C4r form a two-folio and four-column spread, the format that Jeffrey Hamburger calls an “opening” (86), so readers’ eyes simply travel from bottom of verso

to top of adjoining recto, a relatively small interruption in readers' sequential reading pattern. Only on E6r and E6v do readers have to turn the folio to find the image related to the chapter title.

In the Crombergers' *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla, 1526), there are six of these folio breaks that divide chapter headings and illustrations, three with a page turn (fols. 11r-11v; 42r-42v; 50r-50v) and three that span the two-folio spread (fols 47v-48r; 54v-55r, 62v-63r). There are numerically more folio breaks in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. However, we should recall that because it is almost nine times longer than *Oliveros*, folio breaks occur less frequently in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. The limited white space and the compact *mise-en-page* in these Cromberger imprints causes the images to complement the printed text closely and, therefore, promotes a processing pattern of sequential reading (Hagan 50) in *Oliveros* and *Amadís de Gaula* as well as *Thesoro*, as will be shown presently.

Insofar as Jacobo Cromberger imitated manuscript conventions by employing a gothic type-set for *Oliveros*, *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, and *Thesoro* (Sevilla, 1517), the three printed editions resemble one another.⁵⁹ Rather than imitate Pablo Hurus's 1494 and 1496-1498 editions, Cromberger printed *Thesoro*'s folios in two columns, like those of *Oliveros* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. The eighty-two illustrations depict scenes from the life of Christ, some of which are generic enough to be repeated in different contexts. The Cromberger editions of *Oliveros*, *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, and *Thesoro* share three categories of material intertexts: complementary approaches to reading outlined in the prologues; the

⁵⁹ The Sevilla *Thesoro*, printed in folio, has signatures a-i⁸ k¹⁰ l⁴ with eight-six leaves. The libraries with witnesses to this edition are the Biblioteca Universitaria di Cagliari in Italy, the Biblioteca Pública de Évora in Portugal, the Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid, the Biblioteca Nacional de España (two witnesses), the Biblioteca Capitul y Colombina in Sevilla, and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. See Wilkinson, *Iberian Books* no. 11292; Norton, *Descriptive* no. 902; Abad, *Post-incunables* no. 911; *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus* no. 4017.

imprints' *mise-en-page*; and their visual code in passages that address good judgment in rulers. Examining how these material intertexts appear across these three imprints highlights the printer's agency, alongside that of the author, in the production of texts. The Crombergers' choices as printers, particularly the occurrence of material intertexts in books of chivalry and devotional books, could lead readers to make associations among imprints and to read works in terms of each other, in a way reminiscent of how writers allude to other authors' works.

Oliveros's, *Amadís de Gaula*'s, and *Thesoro*'s prologues prepared readers to approach the imprints' content. The prologues express parallel hopes that the words –and images– that follow will lead readers to live well and reap eternal life. Even out of martial stories “compuestas y fengidas,” writes Rodríguez de Montalvo, readers can extract “los buenos *exemplos y doctrinas*” that will lead them toward salvation (223, emphasis added).⁶⁰ In almost the same words, Andrés de Li anticipates his Passion account in Spanish will help readers “no solo conuertiran el ocio en vtilidad, mas ahun aprouechara a muchos otros en *doctrina y exemplos*” (Li 92, emphasis added). The *Oliveros* prologue references similar ideas, if not the exact words, trusting that “les fuessen las tales obras *exemplo* para bien viuir & finalmente, camino real para la saluacion de sus almas” (Corfis 45, emphasis added). That all three prologues touch on their texts' containing “*exemplos y doctrinas*” reflects values and priorities of late medieval Iberian societies, factors that informed texts written, printed, and consumed there. But it also suggests that those who produced and read these imprints in the late fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries considered a devotional book and a book of chivalry to be equally effective vehicles to convey “*exemplos y doctrinas*” to readers, early modern and modern scholarly characterizations of books of chivalry as frivolous notwithstanding.

⁶⁰ I quote from Cacho Blecua's critical edition.

The prologue to the printed Spanish editions of *Oliveros* invokes written records of holy and wise people to act as a memory aid to recall advantageous behavioral models, such that the readers, by learning of their predecessors, may imitate them and ultimately achieve salvation (Corfis 45). *Oliveros*'s prologue and epilogue offer more than entertainment; they also assert the text's devotional value. Lest readers forget or set aside the spiritually beneficial portions of the book of chivalry, the front and back matter frame the heroes' adventurous and miraculous deeds. By reading the exploits of Oliveros and Artus, readers may "regir y reglar nuestras vidas et apartar del vicio floreciendo en virtudes en enxemplo de aquellos" (Corfis 45). Just as *Thesoro* points readers to holy living by placing in their hands the tools of salvation in printed form – instruction, invitations to pity and compassion, guides to prayer– the printed words and images in *Oliveros* guide readers to follow the examples of its protagonists and to share in their spiritual recompense. The *Oliveros* and *Thesoro* prologues also exhibit awareness of the materiality of the books they introduce. The translations from Latin into Spanish and the medium of print transform stories that had been "ocultas et muy caras de alcançar" into products available to all (Corfis 45). The prologues of a book of chivalry and of a devotional book, then, make explicit the parallel linguistic and technological means by which these beneficial texts arrived in readers' hands.

Thesoro's format of two closely set columns of gothic types with woodcuts matching the width of the text column corresponds to that of *Oliveros* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. Laura Delbrugge, in her comparison of the three editions of *Thesoro* comments that the Cromberger edition "has fewer blank spaces" than Pablo Hurus's editions (Zaragoza, 1494 and 1496-1498); the incunable editions also had single-line text and "more linking phrases" to smooth the transitions between chapters (19). The limited white space and compact *mise-en-page*

shared by *Oliveros*, *Amadís de Gaula*, and *Thesoro* encouraged the sequential processing discussed above (Hagan 50). Because the imprints' typography encouraged sequential reading patterns, transitional or linking phrases in the Cromberger *Thesoro* become less necessary, hence their scarcity in that edition. *Thesoro*'s sections begin with chapter and article numbering to guide readers, the canonical hour to which the devotion belongs, a brief summary of the content, and a decorated initial. Jacobo Cromberger abandons the *figurae orantes* that act as performative models for devout readers of Pablo Hurus's editions, but he does include narrative woodcuts bordered by side pieces. Derek Pearsall explains how illustrations placed near breaks in the text "functioned as an apparatus" made useful by manuscript artisans' and readers' "expectation that pictures would be placed at textual divisions" (in Langland xxxii). Printers and readers applied these expectations to their approaches to printed books. In *Oliveros*, *Amadís de Gaula*, and *Thesoro*, the chapter headings and illustrations orient readers, facilitating their navigation of the text.⁶¹ Within printed books modelled after manuscripts, the illustrations highlight essential information and offer clues as to how readers should react to the textual material presented.

If the woodcut had been used previously, readers have the additional task of recontextualizing the material intertexts in a new setting while recalling earlier associations. These associations could pertain to the same text, as in the repeated woodcuts in Christ's trial sequence. Alternately, as with the woodcuts shared by *Oliveros* and *Amadís de Gaula*, the material intertexts could cause readers to associate another imprint with the text they were reading. These types of allusions could even function with unillustrated editions, with readers supplying their own mental images to accompany an imageless text. Readers of Juan de la Cuesta's unillustrated first editions of the first and second volumes of *Don Quijote* (Madrid,

⁶¹ Pere Posa took advantage of these same strategies when he placed woodcuts at the start of each of *La dolorosa*'s devotional poems, as Chapter Two demonstrates.

1605 and Madrid, 1615, respectively), for example, might have recalled familiar chivalric illustrations as they read or heard of Alonso Quijano's misadventures. Cervantes's direct references to well-known books of chivalry that were illustrated, such as *Amadís de Gaula*, increased the likelihood that readers or hearers might compare Don Quijote with the illustrations of *Amadís* and other knights they had seen.

Woodcuts that were not exact reproductions could also allude to previously encountered material. Readers and viewers surrounded by visual input of scenes from Christ's life and Passion surely recognized familiar groupings and poses. This detection of patterns enabled spectators to situate a new piece of artwork according to established patterns. A figure tied to a column flanked by soldiers with whips, for example, would immediately evoke other scenes of Christ's scourging. Illustrations of throne room scenes in Book One of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, without directly copying any woodcuts from the Crombergers' Passion series, recall vignettes of Christ's trial and judgment by Pilate and Herod that appear in illustrated Passion accounts, including the Cromberger *Thesoro*. I predicate readers' association of throne room woodcuts in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* with those in the Cromberger *Thesoro* upon the assumption that each edition had overlap in readership. One such throne room scene occurs in an unusual place in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, inviting special attention and treatment of this woodcut as a material intertext to a similar woodcut in *Thesoro*. Both woodcuts and the corresponding chapters deal with rulers' decision-making strategies and ability to make wise and favorable judgments. Regarding the reuse and resemblance of woodcuts in printed books, Pinet affirms, "Reproducibility would provide the genre with a different type of cohesion by effecting a sort of genealogy through the reiteration of woodcuts, [...] sometimes even allowing publishers to market other genres by having them share the popularity of the

chivalric through formal presentation” (“Knight” 538). Through the resemblance in the accompanying woodcuts and the texts’ examples and counter-examples, these chapters in *Amadís de Gaula* and *Thesoro* reference each other and suggest how readers’ interpretations of “buenos exemplos et doctrinas” may be enhanced by material intertexts that encourage comparisons across genre categories.

In *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, folio 58r exhibits a nearly unique *mise-en-page* (fig. 3-1). This is the only chapter in Book One in which the woodcut precedes the chapter title.⁶² The woodcut depicts a king surrounded by courtiers (Griffin, *Descriptive WC*: 403). Chapter 32, with which it corresponds, relates King Lisuarte’s querying of his court as to how he should govern: “Cómo el rey Lisuarte, estando ayuntadas las cortes, quiso saber su consejo de los cavalleros de lo que fazer le convenía” (Rodríguez de Montalvo 540). As readers read or listened to this scene, and in consideration of passages in *Amadís* in which the narrator digresses from the plot to address good governance, as the *Consiliaria* on folios 77v and 78r (Rodríguez de Montalvo 641-43), the audience might consider how they would answer such a question should their ruler address it to them. In terms of material intertextuality among Cromberger imprints, this folio in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* is particularly interesting given its visual resemblance to folio 49v in *Thesoro*’s Chapter 43, another passage concerned with good rulership and advice.

Like Chapter 32 in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, the typography of *Thesoro*’s Chapter 43 causes it to stand out among the chapters relating Christ’s trials (fig. 3-2). Its illustration is the only scene with the crowned figure facing the viewer and flanked by other figures. In its orientation, it resembles the illustration preceding Chapter 32 in *Los quatro libros*

⁶² The only other occurrences of a woodcut preceding rather than following the chapter heading are Book Three, chapter 55 (fol. 141r) and the two woodcuts that adorn the top of the first folio of Book Four (fol. 202r).

de Amadís de Gaula and, like the *Amadís de Gaula* chapter, *Thesoro*'s Chapter 43 leads readers to contemplate good governance. In it, both Pilate and Herod are mentioned as Christ's judges and they receive counsel from Christ's accusers and their own consciences. Li criticizes Pilate, who could have made a just ruling, for passing the decision to an ill-suited judge (Herod): "O quan maldita execucion tuuo tu buen pensamiento, sabias que por inuidia le tratauan la muerte, podias le tu mesmo por tu justo juyzio absolver" (Li fol. 50r). An additional indicator that pointed informed readers toward a reading of Chapter 43 as instruction on evaluating rulers' judgments. In this section, Li alludes to Job, a biblical figure whose book is largely concerned with the quality of his companions' counsel. As part of the meditation on patient submission to earthly authorities, Li includes a brief recital of Pilate's reasoning for avoiding deciding Christ's fate himself. These criteria include maintaining courteous relations with a fellow ruler and respecting boundaries and jurisdiction (Li fol. 50r).

As in books of chivalry, devotional books' illustrations offer conduct models for readers (Rivera, "Visualizing" 61). In *Thesoro*, woodcuts provide an entry point for readers to begin imagining themselves into the scene. Woodcuts in books of chivalry also suggest with whom readers should most identify or propose scenes into which they should attempt to insert themselves. Verbal and visual cues like these were familiar to readers from their frequent use in affective devotional literature, the *MVC* and its offshoots. The Cromberger *Thesoro* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* exhibit a similar *mise-en-page* that conditions a sequential reading pattern. The preceding chapters and chapter headings set the scene, while the narrative woodcuts draw readers into the accompanying episode that the text describes. The woodcuts, as material intertexts, also awaken readers' expectations and prompt them to make associations with imprints that had a comparable layout and illustration. Just as Pilate and Herod received

advice from Christ's accusers regarding the handling of the accusations against Christ, so Lisuarte seeks guidance as to his governing of the kingdom. In Chapter 32 of *Amadís de Gaula*, the Conde de Clara's beneficial instruction wins out over the selfish counsel of Barsinán, señor de Sansueña, who is himself misled by Arcaláus. Yet in Book Two, Lisuarte will be led to condemn Amadís unjustly based on misleading advice, just as Pilate condemned Jesus on the testimony of false witnesses.

The placement of the throne room woodcut prior to Chapter 32 in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* is significant. Given the pattern of sequential reading that readers would likely follow in an imprint designed like *Amadís de Gaula*, the woodcut preceding the chapter heading means that readers would have autonomy to contextualize the generic woodcut themselves until the heading informed them what it was intended to represent. When readers arrived at the woodcut at the bottom of the first column on folio 58r, not yet having lifted their eyes to the next column to read the heading's contextualization of the woodcut, they would be free to apply other associations that the woodcut's material intertextuality brought to mind, perhaps especially considering other imprints issued by the Cromberger print shop with similar typographical characteristics.

The throne room woodcut in *Amadís de Gaula* evokes images of Herod or Pilate surrounded by a crowd and Christ that appeared in multiple iterations within *Thesoro* and in devotional books. Gazing at the king intended to represent Lisuarte as he requested advice on rulership in *Amadís de Gaula*, readers might also consider what they knew about decision-making and good or poor governance from Passion accounts of Christ's trial. With Pilate and Herod as judges, Jesus was condemned unjustly in the midst of false testimony; in Book Two of *Amadís de Gaula*, Amadís will fall from favor in Lisuarte's court through don Bruneo de

Bonamar and Mandamán el Embidioso's scheming. Material intertextuality in the illustration and textual content of Chapter 32 of *Amadís de Gaula* with Chapter 43 of *Thesoro* could have led readers who were familiar with both these Cromberger imprints to read the chivalric episode in terms of the judgment of Christ. Though the woodcuts depictions of counsel-seeking and decision-making were not duplicated identically between *Thesoro* and *Amadís*, the similarity in layout and content would have acted as a material intertext to aid readers in recalling scenes from devotional literature in which Herod or Pilate were advised by others and made choices to condemn Christ based on the false counsel of those around them.

Printing *Amadís de Gaule*: Typographical Translation and Printerly Parentage

Denis Janot (active 1529-1544) was born to a family of printers and followed his parents, Jean Janot and Macée Trepperel, into the business. He took over his father's printing house in the mid-1530s (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 13) on the Rue Neuve Notre Dame at the Sign of Saint John the Baptist, facing the church of Saint Geneviève des Ardents and near the cathedral of Notre Dame. Prior to this, he had operated at his mother's premises, which Trepperel had taken over after her husband died around 1521 (Rawles, "Denis Janot" 17); Janot also inherited his parents' printing materials ("Denis Janot" 17-18). During these early years, Denis Janot worked with another printer, Alain Lotrian, a collaboration which began as early as 1530 (Warner 31).⁶³ From 1534, he functioned as an independent printer, occasionally working with booksellers, such as Jean Longis, Vincent Sertenas, and Pierre Sergent, while maintaining his own individual projects (Rawles, "Denis Janot" 19; "Earliest" 93). Rawles bases the date of Janot's commercial autonomy on his change of address in 1534 as well as on the material evidence of a "mature and distinctive style" in his imprints ("Denis Janot" 20). Still, it was not until 1536 that Janot began

⁶³ Denis Janot's wife, Jeanne de Marnef, was the daughter of Geoffroy de Marnef (Warner 31), of the De Marnef family who printed under the Sign of the Pelican as referenced in Chapter Two.

in earnest to forge his reputation for richly illustrated imprints (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 38). He amassed a collection of more than one thousand woodcuts by the end of his career (*Denis Janot* 38) and cultivated a variety of roman type sets; as a result, his trademarks as a printer were roman and italic typefaces and luxuriously decorated editions (*Denis Janot* 39). Roman typography became increasingly widely used in Paris in the sixteenth century and it contrasted with the earlier gothic style of printing from the incunable period and earlier sixteenth century modeled after manuscript practices (*Denis Janot* 1).⁶⁴

According to Leah Chang, Denis Janot belongs to a group of French printers in the first half of the sixteenth century who successfully gambled on publishing female writers: “[The female author’s] textual ‘authority’ lies not simply in the legitimacy of a textual project published in her name, but in the ability of her gender difference to produce a return for the printer, a return that was sometimes intellectual and aesthetic, but that was almost always commercial as well” (*Into Print* 22). In 1538, the year when he most likely printed *Les angoyssees douloureuses qui procedent d’amours* (henceforth *Les angoyssees*) by Hélisenne de Crenne, Janot was a young man who joined his family’s business of printing and, though an owner of his own print shop, had limited himself to the sorts of books his father had produced namely “novelties and romances” (*Into Print* 26, 27). However, Hélisenne de Crenne’s first book constituted a unique opportunity for Janot (*Into Print* 26). As Cacho Blecua explains, “los impresores calibrarían los riesgos económicos, que lógicamente eran mayores en una primera edición cuyo éxito se desconocía” (“Los grabados” 64) and such calculations, for Janot as for most printers in

⁶⁴ Roman types should not, however, be construed as a sixteenth-century invention, for they date from fifteenth-century Rome and were the variety of types that Juan Parix brought with him from Rome to Segovia (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 29). For more information about Parix, see Chapters One and Five.

Europe at this time, would be even more pertinent to a text authored by an as-yet unpublished woman.

Janot marketed Hélienne de Crenne's writing by capitalizing on her novelty while simultaneously integrating her works into the program of classical texts in vernacular languages that were in demand in the French book market. His publications of Cicero's and Hélienne de Crenne's titles during the transitional years of the 1530s and 1540s, particularly her *Le songe de Madame Helisenne* (1540) and her translation of *Les quatre premiers livres des Eneydes* (1542), signal, as Chang observes, a new focus on vernacular humanism (*Into Print* 27).⁶⁵ Denis Janot's request printed in the *princeps* of Hélienne de Crenne's *Epistres familiares et invectives* [1539] that he receive a privilege of two years to continue printing the *Epistres* and *Les angoysses* suggests that there was money to be made in their continued publication (Conway 110). Moreover, at the conclusion of this two-year privilege, a different printer seized the rights to print *Les angoysses* (Conway 110). Published female authors were still scarce in the first half of the sixteenth century, although women's writings circulating in manuscript among friends and acquaintances did not suffer the same limitations. A new text written by a woman, and the production in print of such a text, would have been a desirable commodity for potential book buyers (Chang, *Into* 29).

Once Janot was an established printer, he initiated a partnership with a colleague, Jean André, in 1536 (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 16). That year, the two collaborated to produce an edition of *La trésor de la cité des dames* which they attribute on the title page to "Dame Christine de la

⁶⁵ Chang (60) and Wood (63) reproduce 1541, the year printed in the *Eneydes*, but Stephen Rawles has found bibliographical evidence that it could not have been printed before 8 March 1542 ("Denis Janot" 52). Janot seems to have been counting from a year beginning at Easter rather than from January 1 when he dated the *Eneydes* 1541 (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 2).

Cité de Pise” (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 47).⁶⁶ As Cynthia Brown shows, the printers who produced fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of Christine de Pisan’s work certainly participated in the construction of “Dame Christine” as an author. Brown relates that Jean André “used Christine for his own personal gain, but to profit from her work he had to develop the author’s image as well as the profile of a growing female public” (“Reconstruction” 227). Given that Janot worked closely with André in the printing of *La Trésor de la cité des dames*, he likely would have reflected upon this early experience of publishing a female author when he first turned to the works of Hélienne de Crenne around 1538. In the late 1530s Janot was defining himself as a mature printer, accruing capital for future projects, and building his collection of types, frames, and woodcuts. Given his circumstances, he might have wondered whether the novelty of another female writer’s books could again benefit his reputation and his purse.

Chang surmises that Denis Janot may even have invented Hélienne de Crenne, a female author figure who would write in the genres of sentimental and chivalric romance. Naming his fictitious author after a character in *Amadis de Gaule* would gauge public interest in a French translation of that book of chivalry (*Into Print* 164-65).⁶⁷ Chang bases her speculation, in part, on the fact that “[t]he title page [of *Les angoysse*s] announces that she has composed the work, and yet as the volume progresses, her authenticity as one of the book’s producers becomes increasingly suspicious, especially since she dies before the end of the story” (Chang, “Clothing” 382). However, Chang’s interpretation hinges on the conflation of the author figure with the protagonist of the same name. Chang also postulates that Marguerite de Briet, the historic person

⁶⁶ Rawles indicates that while the privilege was granted to André, two variants alternately indicate that “[o]n les vend à Paris ... par Denys Ianot” and “[o]n les vend à Paris ... par Iehan André” (*Denis Janot* 47).

⁶⁷ A Picard chronicle identifies Hélienne de Crenne as the pen name of a “perdocta mulier” named Marguerite de Briet of Abbeville (Conway 106). For the purposes of this chapter, I will continue to refer to this writer as Hélienne de Crenne, the name under which she published her works in Paris.

behind the “Dame Hélienne” persona, “is almost as much a construct as ‘Helisenne de Crenne;’ both are devices serving a modern critical need to organize texts around an authorial identity, however fictive that identity might be” (“Clothing” 382). Hélienne de Crenne’s and Denis Janot’s parallel intuition with respect to which sorts of texts would sell may explain why Chang goes so far as to suggest, in the same vein as Mireille Huchon has done with Louise Labé as a “créature de papier,” that Janot invented the persona of Hélienne de Crenne and her works, knowing they would be well-received and would earn him sufficient prestige and financial support in the Parisian book market to produce the first French editions of *Amadis (Into Print 165)*. Yet the felicitous combination of quality prose with artisanry and market sense is not limited to a single creative mind. Rather, Hélienne de Crenne could have collaborated with Denis Janot so that each benefited to different degrees from the publication of her works.

It is useful to evaluate how male printers may have appropriated female writers’ names and reputations to secure their own economic advantage. But there is no conclusive evidence that Denis Janot concocted the personage of Hélienne de Crenne. Susan Broomhall prefers to allow agency for Hélienne de Crenne as a writer who “sought the publication of her work seemingly as a conscious contribution to contemporary popular literary discourse” (101), one who intentionally sought out Janot as a printer in line with her “objectives as a professional female author” (102). Pollie Bromilow, too, favors a view of Hélienne de Crenne as a purposeful creator of texts in response to the demands of the book market. As Bromilow observes, Hélienne de Crenne prepared the way for the positive reception of her prose by writing books in keeping with public taste, both in her fiction, such as *Les angoyssees* and the *Epistres familiares et invectives*, as well as her forays into humanist projects with *Le songe de Madame Helisenne* and *Les quatre premiers livres des Eneydes* (763-64). Janot’s book production does reveal an

awareness of the book trade's currents that dovetails with Hélienne de Crenne's. Recognizing how public taste for classical works applied to contemporary vernacular texts of similar themes, Janot followed the publication of Cicero's collected letters (1539) and *Le songe de Scipio* (1539) with Hélienne de Crenne's *Epistres* (1539) and *Le songe* (1540). Similarly, *Les angoyssees*'s content and materiality manifest a sensitivity on the part of its creators to the demands of the book market and to their own strengths as writer and printer.

Therefore, without going so far as to doubt a historical Hélienne de Crenne or, at least, a woman who wrote under that name, I agree that *Les angoyssees*'s narrative of chaste –though extra-marital– attachment, through its broad appeal to men and women, did economically benefit Janot. It allowed him to access a market of which women readers represented an important sector and opened for him a printing niche not frequently tapped. The printing and marketing strategies Denis Janot employed for printing *Les angoyssees* positioned him to print the ambitious *Amadis de Gaule* despite its being precisely the sort of book the “nobles dames,” to whom the *Les angoyssees* is addressed, should avoid. Women writers in the Middle Ages, as Joan Kelly-Gadol asserts, enjoyed more freedom because it suited patriarchal interests, not because males in the Middle Ages were more liberal-minded than their Renaissance counterparts (182-83). This situation persisted into the sixteenth century. Given the few extant printed works by women and the way in which female writers' prologues alternately excuse and incite women's writing (Davis 217), a writer usually found her works printed under conditions that profited her male collaborators. The idealization of chaste and domestic upper-class women contributed to an orderly and productive society by encouraging stable conditions in which men could engage in personal and economic pursuits. Material intertexts among Denis Janot's editions of Hélienne de Crenne's texts, particularly *Les angoyssees*, and the first French translation of *Le premier livre*

de Amadis de Gaule, demonstrates how women's liberties intersected with men's self-interest and business ventures in the sixteenth-century book trade.

Chang's analysis shows how the material components of printed books contribute to the construction of female authorship. Chang also notes typographical and generic similarities among Janot's editions of Hélienne de Crenne's and Cicero's works between 1538 and 1540 (*Into Print* 26) and explains how the parallel editions of Hélienne de Crenne and Cicero could, due to their material and thematic points of contact, encouraged purchasers to acquire the classical as well as the contemporary writer's works (*Into Print* 59). There remains to propose a relationship of material intertextuality between Hélienne de Crenne's *Les angoysses* and the *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, which will occupy this section of the chapter. Focusing Janot's editions of Hélienne de Crenne's works, I employ material intertexts to sketch the lineage of *Les angoysses*, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, and Hélienne de Crenne's translation of the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Understood to encompass not only the content, but also the materiality of printed books, material intertexts in Denis Janot's visual codes materially connect these ideologically-related books he printed. In this chapter, I continue to adapt Gérard Genette's model of intertextuality as "the practice of *allusion*" (2, emphasis original) to the study of print culture, particularly in terms of the recycling of materials, decorative elements, and textual content across genres in ways that activated individuals' memories of similar reading experiences. Instances of material intertextuality provide clues as to how Janot perceived Hélienne de Crenne's role in the production of his printed books and the relationship he and his readers conceived among his imprints.

I base my study on the British Library's digital facsimile of *Les angoysses* (Paris [1538]).⁶⁸ According to Rawles's bibliography, this witness is a composite of two separate editions, labelled Edition A and Edition B in his monograph.⁶⁹ The types are roman in three sizes with decorated initials. The British Library witness contains fifty-two unique woodcut designs and one hundred eleven total illustrations, including some reused woodcuts. When Janot printed *Les angoysses*, he had not yet begun to incorporate frame pieces into his imprints as he would in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. Janot presented the *Les angoysses* text in one column with woodcuts usually at the beginning or end of chapters. The woodcuts vary in height between eight and ten lines tall. Janot centered the woodcuts in the text column and often surrounded them with white space on all four sides. Five folios include full-page ornamental frames that correspond to the major textual divisions in *Les angoysses*: 1. a title page displays the title of the work, author, and printer, with Part One following (A1r); 2. a decorative folio offers a brief summary of the contents preceding *Les angoysses*'s Part Two (AA1r) and Part Three (²A1r); 3. a folio presents introductory information to the coda written in the voice of Quézinstra following the protagonists' deaths (²F8r); 4. a folio displays a final decorative frame surrounding Janot's printer's mark and the words "De Crenne" at the narrative's conclusion (²H3v). These

⁶⁸ This witness is shelfmark C58.cc.21. It has two hundred twenty-eight leaves in octavo with signatures A-I8, K4 (K4 blank), AA-LL⁸, MM⁴ (MM4 blank), ²A-²G⁸, ²H⁴ (²H4 blank). The edition is undated, but Rawles uses the woodcuts, initials, and typefaces to estimate 1538 as the year of publication. Because the date is uncertain, I place it in brackets.

⁶⁹ Part Three of *Les angoysses* corresponds to Edition A (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 263), while Parts One and Two come from Edition B (*Denis Janot* no. 264). The following libraries also have witnesses to Edition A: the Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieur des Beaux Arts, Paris and the Bibliothèque Municipale, Toulouse. The libraries that have witnesses to Edition B are: The Bibliothèque Méjanès, Aix-en-Provence; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon; the Bibliothèque Intercommunale, Épinal-Golbay; the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris; the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar; the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest. The British Library also has a second witness, shelfmark G 101008, to Edition B.

embellished folios act as visual divisions in the text and preview the ways in which Hélienne de Crenne varies her novel's narrative voices.⁷⁰

Protagonists skilled in combat, adept in love, and who display culturally-determined ideal courtly behavior figure prominently in *Les angoysses* and *Amadis de Gaule*. Virginia Krause's ("Confessions") and Christine de Buzon's ("Roman et passions") studies of *Les angoysses* present the first part as a psychological exploration of a woman's affective life, unusual for the sixteenth century. Primarily because of Part One, *Les angoysses* has been called the first French sentimental novel (Conway 106) and resumes a tradition long cultivated in Italy by Giovanni Boccaccio and in Spain by Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores, whose text are classified today as sentimental novels. Hélienne de Crenne lent her name to her female protagonist and revived some tropes of *amour courtois* by having her fall in love with the youth Guénélic as a married woman. Parts Two and Three noticeably diverge from the first, complicating and at times contradicting plot lines and character development outlined in Part One. Suddenly the low-born Guénélic is a noble and an aspiring knight. Hélienne disappears as narrator and her lover Guénélic resumes the narration. He alternates swordplay, which his companion Quézinstra supports, and lovesick pining for his imprisoned Hélienne, which Quézinstra discourages. In the end, Quézinstra and Guénélic rescue Hélienne in time for Hélienne to perish, Quézinstra and Guénélic to debate one last time, and for Guénélic to join his lady in death. Quézinstra has a vision of the lovers welcomed by the Roman pantheon. In a metanarrative moment, he agrees to print the manuscript (*Les angoysses*) that Hélienne wrote and left behind her. Of course, the book will be printed in the "très inclite et populeuse cité de Paris" (Crenne 361).

⁷⁰ As with *La dolorosa* in Chapter Two and *Oliveros, Amadis de Gaula*, and *Thesoro* earlier in this chapter, woodcut illustrations have aesthetic value as they enrich the reading experience and practical purpose as they aid readers in navigating the text.

Denis Janot and H elisenne de Crenne were attentive to public taste and the ways in which they could tailor their products in accordance with it. For H elisenne, that meant returning to chivalric and sentimental fiction. For Janot’s part, he concentrated on developing a *mise-en-livre* that would attract buyers. Janot’s collection of woodcuts grew substantially in the year he printed *Les angoyssees*. It follows that out of *Les angoyssees*’s two hundred twenty-eight leaves in octavo, nearly half contain a woodcut (Appendix 2).⁷¹ Besides these illustrations, the types, and the size of Janot’s edition of *Les angoyssees* characterize it as an accessible book intended for leisure reading, in keeping with Renaissance values for women and men. In Iberian printing houses, books of chivalry were overwhelmingly printed using gothic types through the 1560s (Luc a Meg as, *Imprenta* 434). In fact, books of chivalry in gothic types came to be the “estilo nacional” for Iberian imprints “frente a los libros de ‘tipo internacional,’” distinguished by roman typefaces (*Imprenta* 434), although Coldiron offers contexts in which gothic or blackletter typeface, employed for English vernacular texts in England through the sixteenth century, might also be considered “English” (241).

Les angoyssees was printed with a roman typeface, which was increasingly widely used by Parisian printers in the sixteenth century and, like the format, aligns *Les angoyssees*’s materiality more closely with humanist and neoclassical texts than with chivalric romances (Bromilow 779). Janot might have obtained this typeface around May 1534 when he added to his collection a new set of roman types previously owned by printer Antoine Augereau, the so-called “cicero” roman (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 16; “Denis Janot” 23).⁷² A further acquisition in 1537 of “petit-canon”

⁷¹ In his bibliography, Rawles only lists the first occurrence of each woodcut in a given imprint, unless a frame piece or other typographical feature distinguishes it. Because my dissertation considers recycling of woodcuts to be of particular interest, I have appended a list of the woodcuts in the British Library witness of *Les angoyssees*, with attention to cuts that are re-used (Appendix 2).

⁷² Marguerite de Navarre’s *Le Miroir de l’ame pescheresse* was printed in approximately 1533 without indicating the printer, but the types came from Augereau’s collection (Renouard, *Imprimeurs* 216). The Sorbonne condemned *Le Miroir* as heretical.

roman types enabled Janot to inaugurate the practice that would characterize the majority of his imprints, in which he laid out his title pages “in the humanist style, using a large upper and lower case roman in the first line” (Rawles, “Denis Janot” 27-28). Bromilow observes that books intended for women were often smaller than those for men (766) and, indeed, *Les angoyssees* was an octavo. Such a format was easier to carry and, given that there was little space for marginalia, the octavo “came to connote a leisurely rather than a studious read,” though not necessarily a less expensive one in comparison with a folio (Bromilow 778). Printed books’ expense often derived more from the cost of paper than from size alone (Mosley 95). On the other hand, Janot also used the octavo format in the late 1530s to print vernacular classical texts in roman typeface, which by reputation appealed most to male readers (Bromilow 778). Janot’s use of a roman and italic typography to print a book whose genre categories span sentimental romance and chivalric novel constitutes a change from late medieval gothic style printing conventions. Moreover, these choices indicate an effort to redefine *Les angoyssees* as part of the popular humanist tradition (Bromilow 779) with elements appealing to men as well as women, a significant marketing technique in the context of a female writer.

When considered in its entirety, *Les angoyssees* may be categorized as a book of chivalry, even as it touches sentimental romance and includes autobiographical elements. Yet, *Les angoyssees*’s position on the detrimental effects of passion on lovers sets it apart from chivalric fictions like *Amadís de Gaula*. While the heroes of *Les angoyssees* and *Amadís de Gaula* unite sincere love for their ladies with skill in combat, the narratives differ in their approach to knights who are in love. In *Les angoyssees*, Hélienne –in the prologues to Parts One and Three– and Guénélic –in Part Two’s prologue– counsel against sensual love because of its destructive force. Guénélic’s yearning for his absent lady Hélienne compromises his martial competence; in

contrast, Quézinstra's courageous deeds are uninhibited by a lover's repining. With respect to Amadís, his devotion to Oriana, to a lord or king, and to God motivate his heroism and fuel his strength. Amadís's nearly unbeatable skill in combat stems precisely from his ability to love faithfully. Yet the positive reception of Janot's editions of *Les angoysses* and of the *Amadis de Gaule* series suggests that readers in Paris were able to appreciate both varieties of protagonist and, if any readers acquired copies of both imprints from Janot, their material intertextuality would have suggested an association between *Les angoysses* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*.

Rawles identifies two editions of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* printed by Janot. The *princeps* is dated 10 July 1540 (*Denis Janot* no. 109) and the second edition was printed "between 19 July 1540 and 10 February 1543" (*Denis Janot* no. 110). This second edition, labelled I B by Rawles, is the one of primary interest to this chapter's discussion due to its material intertextuality with another of Janot's imprints, Hélienne de Crenne's translation of *Les quatre premiers livres des Eneydes* (hereafter *Eneydes*). My study of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* is based on the British Library witness of Edition I B.⁷³ Janot set his edition in roman type in two sizes and in text lined across the page, rather than two-column format. Decorative initials are positioned at the start of the chapters. Twelve woodblocks cut especially for the first French edition of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, two of which are printed twice each, add to the appearance of luxury.

Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule's typography acknowledges its filial obligation to Hélienne de Crenne's book in two ways. First, the two editions share aspects of their visual

⁷³ This witness, shelfmark 12403.h.14 [1], has one hundred fifty-six leaves in folio, with signatures ã⁶, A-Z⁶, AA-BB⁶. A digital version of the microfilm is available through Gallica, but it lacks images for ã6v (the final folio of the table of contents which has no foliation) and folio 1r (the first folio of chapter one).

program; second, Janot strategically marketed *Les angoysses* so that Hélienne de Crenne's broad appeal to male and female readers yielded both the financial and professional capital requisite for the 'birth' of *Amadis*. A genealogical analogy enables the analysis of the imprints' materiality and the cultural milieu in which they were produced. The mother of the protagonist, Amadis, is named Elisena in the Spanish source text. Jerry Nash, while he recognizes that the name Hélienne (Elisena or Helisena) is only found in *Amadís* and, afterward, in *Les angoysses*, dismisses the possibility of a direct inspiration of the latter from the former (379). I concur with Chang, however, in her findings that the coincidences centered on Janot do permit a possible direct relationship between the two fictional female presences and the success these works enjoyed (*Into Print* 165). In the tradition of Cervantes's claim of his pseudo-paternity of Don Quijote, Hélienne de Crenne is the literary 'mother' of Janot's edition of the *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, just as Elisena is Amadis's mother in the chivalric romance.⁷⁴

Alongside the medieval construction of the "author's literary paternity" of textual 'offspring' (Chartier, *Order* 45), Anne Réach-Ngô sees an analogous discussion for the age of print. Réach-Ngô proposes 'paternity' in terms of a printer's collaborative role in the process of converting a manuscript into a printed book: "[L]a participation de l'instance éditoriale à la publication des textes s'accompagne parfois de la revendication d'une forme de paternité de l'œuvre, dont rendent compte les paratextes éditoriaux. L'intervention de l'imprimeur-libraire prend alors la valeur d'une 'écriture éditoriale'" (51). The materiality of printed books, as Alexandra Gillespie points out, provides a means to explore the extra-diegetical construction of authorship (10). Yet authors –and translators, who shared and often usurped authority and authorship in the early modern period (Francomano 48), as Nicolas de Herberay did with his

⁷⁴ Cervantes wrote in the prologue to the first volume of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, "Pero yo, que, aunque parezco padre, soy padrastro de don Quijote" (1:95).

Amadis de Gaule translations— did not hold sole responsibility for the invention and production of texts in printed form. Printers intervened in the creation of the texts in terms of their *mise-en-livre* and made editorial decisions about their content in answer to exigencies of their own print shops and the book market. Agency was distributed, often unequally, between writers and translators as authors of content and printers as authors of materiality (Darnton 67; Coldiron 3). Printed books, therefore, bore traits not only of the authors of their content, but also the “authors” of their materiality: their printers. Réach-Ngô focuses primarily on the transformation of individual manuscripts into editions of books. She theorizes “l’écriture éditoriale” as a framework to understand a printer who produces books collaboratively with writers, “l’imprimeur partageant avec l’auteur la paternité de l’œuvre” (51), but not the possible connections among consecutive editions of different books by the same printer. I extend her theory of “l’écriture éditoriale” to consider *Les angoysses*, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, and the *Eneydes* as a sequence. I also point out material intertexts in typography and content that suggest a genealogy among these imprints, even after accounting for the characteristics generally shared in books printed by the same printer.

Occasional concurrences of books from the *Amadis* series and books written by Hélienne de Crenne in notarial inventories from Parisian personal libraries in the sixteenth century confirm that these printed books were occasionally owned by the same individuals who, in turn, could notice resemblances among imprints generated by a single printer. In his study of these inventories, A. H. Schutz examined approximately two hundred twenty inventories with a combined total of more than six hundred titles (3), all in vernacular languages. These books belonged to members of the middle class, including those practicing a legal profession, merchants, booksellers, religious, and teachers, as well as the lesser nobility (6). Of the two

hundred twenty inventories, forty-three were filed under women's names. Schutz used the wife's name when the husband's was illegible; because of this, not all forty-three may be the private libraries of Parisian women. At the same time, the cases of women like the Dames des Roches and Louise Labé show that women did avail themselves of their fathers' and husbands' book collections. The inventories, admittedly, represent a limited group of owners or readers, two categories that did not always overlap. Hélisenne de Crenne and *Amadis* appear among the inventoried titles, although there is no indication who printed the listed editions. The inventories' content offers a glimpse of which books specific people owned and read, but not which editions they possessed. Still, the presence on inventories of Hélisenne de Crenne, *Amadis de Gaule* and a few other titles chosen as points of comparison helps to identify the sort of members of the reading public who would be most likely to note material and literary resemblances among Janot's imprints.

Unsurprisingly, there are at least sixteen occurrences of one or more of the *Amadis* saga on the inventories Schutz studied (32). For purposes of comparison with another widely read chivalric text, entries for the prose *Lancelot* occurred twenty-one times, all but four of which were on men's inventories (54). Even *Lancelot* himself barely tops *Amadis* in terms of the broadness of his public. Of the inventories including *Amadis* among the items, four are listed under a woman's name. Schutz found only two occurrences of books by Hélisenne de Crenne, one clearly her *Epistres familiares et invectives*, the other only listed with the author's name, but which Schutz identifies as Hélisenne de Crenne's *Oeuvres* (52). However, in both instances, these books were found in men's libraries, despite her clear address to "nobles dames." An address or a seeming appeal to a female audience did not preclude these books from being owned and read by men. The owner of the *Epistres* was Gilbert de Hodic, *notaire* of Châtelet (80) and

that of the *Oeuvres* was Marie Pierre Crocquoison, *conseiller* (77). Gilbert de Hodic also owned a copy of Marguerite de Navarre's *Le Miroir de l'âme pescheresse* (56). *Le Miroir* appeared in one other inventory as well, also belonging to a man. Although Hélienne de Crenne's works only appeared twice in these inventories, the second owner, Marie Pierre Croquoison, also acquired at least one of the books of *Amadis de Gaule* for his personal library as well as a French translation of Antonio Nebrija's Latin dictionary (59). Another *Amadis* owner, Florimont Robertet, *secrétaire de l'état et des finances*, also owned a copy of Marguerite de Navarre's *L'Heptaméron* (52). These details from Parisian personal libraries show that, at least occasionally, male and female reading publics overlapped and that, in one instance in this limited sample, the same (male) book owner possessed copies of both Hélienne de Crenne's *Oeuvres* and an *Amadis de Gaule*. Multiple print runs over the sixteenth century attest to the positive reception of *Amadis de Gaule* and Hélienne de Crenne's works. The advertisement for Janot's shop on the title page of his imprints increased the likelihood that past purchasers would return for more of Janot's imprints. It is probable that consumers like Marie Pierre Croquoison who owned *Amadis de Gaule* and works by Hélienne de Crenne were not uncommon on the streets of Paris.

In addition to their advertising function, the title pages of *Les angoysses* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* exist as spaces in which contributors to each imprint negotiated authorship and authority.⁷⁵ As Bonnie Mak reminds us, “[t]he page transmits ideas, [...] but more significantly influences meaning by its distinctive embodiment of those ideas” (5). While Iberian chivalric title pages and Janot's title pages for *Les angoysses* or *Le premier livre de Amadis* transmit information about their respective imprints' contents, these title pages embody

⁷⁵ Chartier provides an example of these negotiations in his analysis of the title page of the first part of *Don Quixote* (Order 43-46).

and privilege that information in different ways that reflect their printers' priorities and their consumers' expectations. Griffin notes that Iberian printed title pages for books of chivalry are easily recognizable for their typical heraldic woodcut or woodcut of the title character and large gothic types (*Crombergers* 184). This contrasts to Janot's styling of title pages that privileges author, printer, and translator through text and printer's marks. Regarding the role of the title page in the attribution of an imprint's authorship, Réach-Ngô affirms, "La signature de l'imprimeur sur la page de titre constitue un premier indice de l'identité de l'oeuvre" (51). Moreover, the inclusion of a printer's mark on the title page could guarantee the quality of the imprint that followed (Smith 94). In the case of *Les angoyssees*, both "Dame Helisenne" and "Denys Janot" share space on the title page, the latter taking advantage of the opportunity not only to lay claim to the edition of books he printed, but also to advertise his products to readers (fig. 3-3). The type in which Janot set Hélienne de Crenne's name is larger than that of the type used for Janot's. At first, this seems to emphasize Hélienne de Crenne's authorship, but the *mise-en-page* does acknowledge Janot's authorship of the imprint. "Dame Helisenne" is buried within the work's subtitle, in the middle of a block of text and just left of center. Nestled within the top bar of the ornate frame, a monogram of Denis Janot's name appears on the central shield. Janot often availed himself of this monogram, as when he superimposed it on his thistle printer's mark on the last folio of Part One (K3v; Renouard, *Marques* no. 480). On the title page, the monogram locates Janot centrally, almost like a seal of the quality to which Margaret M. Smith alludes (94). At the foot of the title page, Janot spells out his name, "Denys Janot," centered on its own line at the end of his address. As the last words printed on the page, these identifying words would naturally linger in readers' minds and cement his role as the imprint's co-creator. This impression of co-creation, of "écriture éditoriale," continues throughout the text with Denis

Janot's *mise-en-livre* at times supporting and at others challenging the expressed purpose of Hélienne de Crenne's words.

Janot's investment in printing Hélienne de Crenne's *Les angoyssees*, as well as her other works, prepared him with finances, prestige, and new skills to undertake the ambitious *Amadis* project (Chang, *Into* 59). However, after the *Eneydes* in 1542, Janot ceased publishing Hélienne de Crenne's works. This could be the result of *Eneydes* selling poorly and Hélienne de Crenne's time having passed. It could also be, as Chang hypothesizes, that the commercial success of her books provided Janot the necessary capital to pursue other projects of interest, such as the books in the *Amadis de Gaule* series (*Into Print* 60-61). The placement of an advertisement on the title page of *Les angoyssees* and his other imprints implies a forward-looking and self-promotional business model. By including his street address on the title pages of his imprints, he encouraged readers to return to his printing house to buy more of his innovative and exciting books. Those who had purchased *Les angoyssees*, with the reminder of Janot's location each time they closed the book, would likely have returned to browse Janot's stock and have found the *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* as well.

The decoration of the title page of Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* is scant in comparison to *Les angoyssees*'s more ornate folios with title, author, and printer information that appear at the beginning and end as well as before each of the three parts. Given the expense of paper (Mosley 95), especially in a folio edition, a printer who left lavishly open spaces on his printed folios, thus requiring more sheets of paper to complete the project, must be reasonably certain of a solid return on his investment. This implicit boast begins on title page itself (fig. 3-4). Breaking from the Iberian tradition of books of chivalry with full-page woodcuts of knights with titles in gothic types (Lucía Megías, *Imprenta* 145), Janot arranged text in roman

types and a woodcut of his printer's mark of a thistle in a vase (Renouard, *Marques* 480). He set the elements composing the title page in a loose hourglass shape, beginning the title with large capital letters ("LE PREMIER LI-"), followed by a line of large roman types with upper- and lower-case letters ("ure de Amadis de Gaule, qui"), then all capitals with small roman types ("TRAITE DE MANTES ADVENTV-"), and finally, upper- and lower-case small roman types in lines of tapering length that deliver a summary of the text and the translator's name and titles: "res d'Armes & d'Amours, qu'eurent plusieurs Che-/ualiers & Dames, tant du royaume de la grand/ Bretagne, que d'aultres pays: Traduict/ nouvellement d'Espagnol en Fran-/ coys par le Seigneur des Essars/ Nicolas de Herberay" (ã1r). The name of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, who compiled the first three books of *Amadis de Gaule* and added a fourth book of his own creation, does not appear. The only hint on the title page of the Spanish *Amadís*'s adapter-writer is the statement that Nicolas de Herberay translated the text from Spanish. The center of the folio highlights, as with *Les angoyssees*, the author (in this case, the translator) and the printer. Large roman types form the words "Acuerdo Olvido," Nicolas de Herberay's device; below Janot situated his printer's mark and his monogram. "Acuerdo Olvido" and the printer's mark stand in for Nicolas de Herberay and Denis Janot's names and authorship. "Acuerdo Olvido" also appears at end of colophon (fol. 150v), reasserting Nicolas de Herberay's participation in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*'s production alongside Janot's advertisement for his own print shop. As Coldiron points out, "translators and printers made the past and the foreign available and legible in several senses, creating not only linguistic readability but also cultural comprehensibility" (3). Purchasers of the other *Amadis* texts that Nicolas de Herberay translated or of Janot's other imprints would recognize these material intertexts as the identifying markers of collaboration that they were.

The relatively small size of the co-creators' names, then, does not equate with diminished emphasis. Janot tucked his name into the middle of the "advertisement" and shunted it off to the side, just as Hélienne de Crenne's name was displaced on the title page of the *Les angoyssees*. Although Nicolas de Herberay enjoys top billing at the end of the title, the type size is also comparatively small. Still, Janot manages to assert his editorial authorship of the imprint. Janot arranged the identifying elements of his printer's device and Nicolas de Herberay's "Acuerdo Olvido" in a central position, set apart from other text by white space and parallel to the statement of royal privilege. As Réach-Ngô explains, a printer's mark is a sign that stands in for the name of the printer and "[l]oin d'être une signature discrète dont le motif n'aurait pas de signification, la marque de l'imprimeur sur la page de titre ou à l'intérieur du livre, souvent plus visible que le nom de l'auteur, contribue à asseoir l'autorité de l'éditeur" (60). Janot's printer's mark is the folio's most salient feature and, moreover, occupies the center, as Hélienne de Crenne's name does on *Les angoyssees*'s title page. A further material intertext between *Les angoyssees* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* lies in Janot's use of the same printer's mark in both imprints, despite having several different woodcuts of marks from which to have chosen.⁷⁶

Chang maintains that "authorship and printership are mutually constructive, and in the case of female authors and their book producers, that construction takes place in distinctly gendered ways" (*Into Print* 22). Francomano indicates the roles of printers and their associates as co-creators with writers, for the former "took on authorial functions, interpreting as they remediated" (219). In the sixteenth century, both authors and printers were aware of the power dynamics in play on the title page of an imprint (Chang, "Clothing" 388-89). Mak discusses the

⁷⁶ For reproductions of Janot's printer's marks, including the one shared by *Les angoyssees* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, see Rawles' dissertation (103) and Renouard, *Marques* (nos. 476-481).

“performative function” of title pages, particularly in terms of the relationship the title page may construct among patron, writer, and producer of the book (35-36). Perhaps the printing of *Les angoyssees* taught Janot that, in the *mise-en-page* of a title page, readers tended to give primacy to the information at the center. Accordingly, when planning the layout of the title page of a work as significant as *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, Janot arranged the typography of the translator’s device, “Acuerdo Olvido” to balance the royal privilege, while his printer’s mark occupied the privileged central area that H elisenne de Crenne’s had held on the title page of *Les angoyssees*.

Although the inventories addressed earlier do not offer information about the specific editions owned, they indicate the effectiveness of Janot’s marketing techniques with *Les angoyssees*’s and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*’s title pages as well as his printing style and editorial decisions. Janot’s liberal use of illustrations in his imprints increased their appeal. *Les angoyssees* contains over one hundred illustrated leaves. While thirty-seven of the blocks were used first by Janot in *Les angoyssees*, he also reused blocks that debuted in six other projects (Rawles, “Denis Janot” no. 263). Given the limited resources of many printers, the recycling of woodcuts as well as the sharing of xylographs and type sets among print shops was a common practice. Yet, as Mak maintains, “[b]ound in a codex, [...] images are placed in proximity to other elements –perhaps letter forms or decorations– and are perceived by readers in terms of this relationship” (17). In the case of Janot, given his vast collection of woodcuts, the reintroduction of certain images holds keys to relationships that he, the artisans in his shop, or readers conceived among these imprints (Zanger 405).

For instance, a woodcut of Venus, first used by Janot in *Les angoyssees*, appears only once and directly below H elisenne de Crenne’s dedication (fig. 3-5). In the dedicatory address to

“toutes honnestes dames,” Hélisenne admonishes them to love honestly and to avoid “toute vaine & impudicque amour,” yet the accompanying image of Venus exists as one of Marian Rothstein’s “disjunctive pictures” rather than an illustration of the text it adjoins (101). The depiction of Venus is a seductive one: her billowing drape bares her body, centered in the image and the folio. Janot purposefully used line breaks in his positioning of the dedication’s title. The words “vaine & impudicque/ amour” are positioned directly atop the Venus woodcut. His intentional arrangement of the title, separating the negation (“en euitant”) from the phrase it modifies so that a careless reader might miss the negation entirely, alongside juxtaposition of the goddess of love with the dedicatory letter become an ironic, if not destabilizing, response to Hélisenne’s reported purpose in writing *Les angoyssees*. An address to a female readership enabled women writers like Hélisenne de Crenne to avoid accusations with respect to unchastity or arrogance (Bromilow 768), though it may have been disingenuous, as Cynthia Skenazi opines was the case with Marie Dentièrre’s alleged address to women in her *Epistre tres utile* (1539) (8). The pretense of chaste morality falls flat in Hélisenne de Crenne’s case since Janot undermined her prudent warnings with the *mise-en-page* of A2r of *Les angoyssees*.⁷⁷ It is also possible that the “Epistre dedicative” was intended to be read ironically and that Janot’s addition of a Venus woodcut was a wink to readers, letting them know he was *au courant* with the joke.

The first part of *Les angoyssees* concludes with another letter to the “nobles dames” who purportedly constitute Hélisenne de Crenne’s ideal readership. Accompanying the letter is a woodcut of a queen seated on a throne surrounded by five women whom she appears to instruct (fig. 3-6). This woodcut, with the queen’s face modestly looking down as she exhorts her ladies-in-waiting, seems ideal to convey the message of repentance and warning that Hélisenne

⁷⁷ Jennifer Summit outlines how William Caxton called into question Lady Margaret Beaufort’s devout support of religious reading when he dedicated the prose romance *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* (1489) to her (152).

addresses to her readers. Curiously, this is not one of the woodcuts designed for *Les angoyssees*; it first was used by Janot in Claude Cuzzi's *Philologue d'honneur* in 1537 (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 81). One would expect the Venus image to be the woodcut borrowed from an edition of a classical work to supplement those acquired for *Les angoyssees* and that the illustration of feminine instruction would have been intended especially for H elisenne de Crenne's narrative, yet this was not the case. In *Philologue d'honneur*, this woodcut illustrates a speech by Venus (fol. 72v). The material intertextuality underlying Janot's illustration choice again undermines the expressed purpose of *Les angoyssees*. Although H elisenne de Crenne's words advise modesty, he inserted an image which previously accompanied Venus's words praising Marie de Bourbon's peerless beauty in *Philologue d'honneur*. The material intertextual link between Marie de Bourbon and the protagonist H elisenne de Crenne may have stemmed precisely from the twin references to their incomparable beauty, although in H elisenne's case she reports that some observers called her body "le plus beau corps que je vis jamais," but her face "est belle, mais il n'est   accompagner au corps" (Crenne 34). Readers who frequented Janot's shop or those of his bookseller partners would have recognized the recycled woodcut from their previous purchase of Cuzzi's *Philologue*. Abby Zanger argues for an interpretation of printed books' materiality, particularly the use of recycled illustrations throughout a single printer's stock, as a "movement of generalization that belies the individuality and autonomy of a book as a discrete, unified product" (410). A familiarity with Janot's products over time, therefore, reveals connections among his imprints that Janot sought to communicate to his clientele through material intertexts in the visual program.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ For another example of how Denis Janot used and reused one of his woodcuts to illustrate contrary contexts, see Warner 21-23.

Janot places *Les angoyssees*'s colophon after Parts One (K3r) and Two (MM3v) rather than at the book's conclusion. On K3r, Hélienne's name, "De Crenne" appears in large roman types in the center of the folio. Below, the colophon reads, "Cy finist la premiere partie des Angoisses D'amours: Nouuellement Imprimées à Paris par DENIS IANOT, Libraire & Imprimeur, Demourant en la Rue neufue nostre Dame à l'enseigne Sanct Iehan Baptiste contre Sainte Geneuiefue des Ardens" (K3r). On MM3v, the colophon is placed at the top of the page, with similar content to part one's colophon, except for the shift to "la seconde partie" and a few minor spelling variations. Janot's thistle printer's mark, this time without the monogram superimposed (Renouard, *Marques* 481), takes the center of the folio while "De Crenne" is found below. On the verso of *Les angoyssees*'s final folio, Janot inserts an abbreviated, more visual than textual version of the colophon. A decorated frame surrounds "De Crenne" in large roman types once more, but this time another name appears in the folio's center. Janot superimposes his monogram in thick black ink onto his printer's mark of blooming thistles spilling out of a two-handled vase. The monogram takes center stage, while "De Crenne" is located slightly lower. While time and location of printing are absent, the final folio of *Les angoyssees* clearly proclaims the two individuals responsible for its creation in an echo of the title page and the more typical colophons found after parts one and two.⁷⁹

Hélienne de Crenne and Janot's joint contribution to the Parisian book trade was successful enough that, by 1540, Janot undertook another financially risky venture. Indeed, he raised the stakes with his edition of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* by printing it in a more elegant folio format than *Les angoyssees*'s octavo. The contract for *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, dated 12 July 1540, merely mentions Joan Longis's and Vincent Sertenas's acquisition of

⁷⁹ Cynthia Brown analyzes the negotiation of author, printer, and patron on title pages of French manuscripts and printed books in "Text, Image, and Authorial Self Consciousness" (see especially 124-30).

royal privilege and the terms under which they will enjoy exclusive printing rights (Rawles, “Denis Janot” 213). If an earlier, now-lost document had been prepared that outlined terms for Nicolas de Herberay’s translation of *Le premier livre de Amadis*, Rawles speculates that the increased risk in printing would have been evinced there: “it might be guessed that the booksellers [Longis and Sertenas] would insist on [contract terms] covering themselves against the risk of publishing a largish book in a radically new format for its genre” (“Earliest” 94-95). The vast print history in France alone of Nicolas de Herberay’s translations of the *Amadis* series spans “at least 150 editions of the various books, let alone the variant states, produced in the eighty-five years between 1540 and 1615 in Paris, Lyons and Antwerp” (Rawles, “Earliest” 91). Janot himself produced “no fewer than twelve editions of the first five books” of *Amadis de Gaule* between 1540 and his death in 1544 (“Earliest” 96). The impressive number of editions of the French translations of the *Amadis* saga, which Christine Buzon designates “*matière amadisienne*” (“*Amadis*” 337) in the spirit of Jean Bodel’s *matière de Rome*, *matière de Bretagne*, and *matière de France*, proved Janot’s intuition correct.

In his luxury editions of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, Janot indulged his readers not only with folio format and elegant woodcuts framed with side pieces, but also with plenty of white space. Janot, setting aside the conventions of printing books of chivalry, established a new model in which “les éléments iconographiques s’émancipent des éléments typographiques pour venir aérer la page” (Chatelain 44). Jean-Marc Chatelain indicates that woodcuts functioned as more than decoration. In Janot’s aesthetic in the late 1530s and early 1540s, woodcuts were not tucked securely into text blocks, surrounded closely on two or three sides by words as in the Crombergers’ preferred layout for *Oliveros*, *Amadís de Gaula*, and *Thesoro*. Instead, the insertion of a woodcut implied “un moyen de laisser du blanc sur la page,” (44), typically

introducing negative space below the chapter subtitle, on all four sides of the woodcut, and above the text of the chapter. The “aération” of the folios, in Chatelain’s estimation, “participe d’une économie générale de la clarté” that characterizes Janot’s and Nicolas de Herberay’s *Amadis de Gaule* imprints (44). Although Chatelain focuses exclusively on *Amadis de Gaule*, Janot also employed the separation of iconographic and typographic elements in *Les angoyssees*. The extravagance of white space on printed folios alludes to the printer’s and his investors’ confidence in the edition’s success, a hunch already confirmed by the fact that Janot arranged a second print run of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* soon after the first.

The *Amadis de Gaule* editions’ success may be indebted to the influence of royal patronage. Nicolas de Herberay’s literary and military careers were occasionally fused when title pages of his translations identified him as “le seigneur des Essars Nicolas de Herberay, commissaire ordinaire de l’artillerie du Roy, & lieutenant en icelle, és païs & gouvernement de Picardie, de monsieur de Brissac, chevalier de l’ordre, grand maistre & capitaine general d’icelle artillerie.”⁸⁰ He served as *secrétaire* to Charles, Duc d’Orléans (Bideaux 56). Nicolas de Herberay alludes to François I’s commission of the *Amadis de Gaule* translations in his dedication of the *Premier livre de la chronique de don Flores de Grece* (Paris, 1551 or 1552), directed to Henri II: “Sire, j’avoys par le commandement du feu Roy votre pere (qui Dieu absolve) entrepris de mettre en lumiere toute la chronique du roy Amadis” (qtd. in Rawles, “Earliest” 94). Nicolas de Herberay’s prologues over time offer alternate versions of the commission for *Amadis de Gaule* translations. In the prologue to *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* Nicolas de Herberay had credited Charles d’Orléans, the dedicatee and younger son of François I, for the idea (Herberay 166, 168). Whoever the responsible party, the choice of

⁸⁰ These titles appear on the title page of *Le troisieme livre d’Amadis de Gaule* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1561).

Nicolas de Herberay as translator and adapter was not coincidental, as he had already undertaken the translation of Diego de San Pedro's *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* and the inventory of his library included several titles listed "en espagnol" (Rawles, "Denis Janot" 223-26). Francomano identifies prologues and other framing texts as "the prime spaces where sixteenth-century translators reflect upon the nature of their work" (68). Nicolas de Herberay's prologue to his translation of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, in addition to explaining the genesis of the project, contextualizes his work and sets out some of his theories of translation, which privilege clarity and his French audience's expectations, particularly those of his patron, Charles d'Orléans.

Nicolas de Herberay begins by relating that, to stay active during a truce in the conflict between François I and Carlos V, probably the 1538 truce of Aigues-Mortes (Bideaux 58), he read "plusiers sortes de livres, tant vulgaires qu'etranges" (Herberay 165), among them a Spanish language edition of *Amadís de Gaula*. Warming to his topic, Nicolas de Herberay recounts that Iberian gentlemen have "loué et estimé sur tous" the tales of *Amadís de Gaula* (166) and that, in his estimation, their praise was not misplaced. Among the characteristics that recommend Amadís's story are "la diversité des plaisantes matieres, don't il traicte" and "la representation subtilement descripte qu'il fait des personnes suyvant les armes, ou amours" (166). On behalf of his compatriots who do not read Spanish, he aspires to a translation that will "faire revivre la renommée d'Amadis (laquelle par l'injure et antiquité du temps, estoit estaincte en ceste nostre France)" (166). It is at this point that the prologue takes on a patriotic tone. Nicolas de Herberay, not content with translating from Spanish a work that will please his readers, insists that Amadís was, literally, "de Gaule:" a French, not Spanish, knight (166). In support of this claim, he offers not only Amadís's demonym, but also the alleged existence of a

found manuscript: “j’en ay trouvé encores quelque reste d’ung vieil livre escript à la main en langaige Picard, sur lequel j’estime que les Espagnolz ont fait leur traduction” (166). Perhaps Rodríguez de Montalvo’s own prologue planted the seed of the found manuscript motif in Nicolas de Herberay’s mind; Rodríguez de Montalvo claims to have translated the *Sergas de Esplandián* having obtained the manuscript from a Hungarian merchant who brought it to Spain from Constantinople (Rodríguez de Montalvo 224).

On the basis of his supposed Picard original, Nicolas de Herberay alleges that the Spanish translation diverged from the Picard version by both omitting details and adding other elements, faults which he corrects in his re-translation or restoration (Herberay 166). His purported discovery of a Picard language version of *Amadis de Gaule* likely reflects his own origins in Picardy (Bideaux 56), origins shared by Marguerite de Briet, alias Hélisenne de Crenne. Bideaux considers the ‘found manuscript’ myth invented by Nicolas de Herberay to be a “[j]eu, et également désir d’affirmer son autonomie d’auteur face à son véritable rival, Montalvo” (Herberay 166 n. 2). Through his amended rendition of the book of chivalry’s provenance, Nicolas de Herberay casts blame for cultural appropriation away from himself and onto the writers and adapters of the Spanish *Amadís de Gaula*. He also employs the invented origins of *Amadís de Gaula* to provide the basis for his translation principles.

Part of his translation and adaptation of *Amadis de Gaule* involved cutting material from the Spanish text he perceived as less relevant to his target audience, particularly the Consiliaria because he felt “telz sermons mal propes à la matiere don’t parle l’histoire” (166). With this project, Nicolas de Herberay exercises his agency as translator, asserting his right at times to translate the spirit rather than the letter of his source text:

Et si vous appercevez en quelque endroit que je ne me soye assubjecty à le rendre mot à mot : je vous supplie croire que je l'ay fait, tant pource qu'il m'a semblé beaucoup de chose estre mal seantes aux personnes introduictes, eu regardes meurs et façons du jourd'huy, delivrer de la commune superstition des translateurs, mesmement que ce n'est matier où soit requise si scrupuleuse observance. (168)

Nicolas de Herberay's somewhat contradictory translation theory offers a corrective for the omissions and augmentations supposedly committed by Iberian writers of *Amadís de Gaula* while he himself takes liberties with the Spanish version. According to Simone Pinet, "[t]hese embellishments are the product of d'Herberay's creative translation not only into another language, but into a different cultural imaginary with other interests and needs, particularly in terms of chivalry" ("Knight" 541). He also cuts and adapts as needed to accommodate his readership's expectations and tastes, given a text like *Amadis de Gaule* lends itself better to this looser translation method than one of the more "haultes et ardues" works mentioned earlier in the prologue. Nicolas de Herberay is translator, writer, and editor of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, with his assumption of these roles evincing the desire that his translation augment his country's fame and align with its values (Herberay 167).

Bideaux acknowledges, though, that Nicolas de Herberay's patriotism did not extend so far as to suppress Rodríguez de Montalvo's prologue, including the latter's praise of his own monarch, Fernando II de Aragón (58). The inclusion of both prologues initiates the French translation of *Amadis de Gaule* with two aims at variance.⁸¹ Rodríguez de Montalvo's prologue asserts his intentions that *Amadís* be an exemplary text (Rodríguez de Montalvo 223). Yet not

⁸¹ The French and Latin translations of Bartolomé de Las Casas *Brevísima relación de la destruyición de las Indias*, analyzed in Chapter Four, also retain the original author's prologue even as they add translators' prologues.

only does Nicolas de Herberay hope the translation will have recreational value for the Duke of Orléans, the dedicatee, he also eliminates what he judges to be the overly sententious passages that Montalvo inserted into his narrative to make it more instructional and spiritually beneficial for his Iberian readers. These moves evince Nicolas de Herberay's perceptions of translation not only as linguistic, but also cultural.

Denis Janot's *mise-en-livre* of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* shows that translation not only deals with language and culture, but also with material concerns. Chatelain insists that Nicolas de Herberay's translation (characterized "par son élégance et sa clarté") as well as Janot's editorial interventions distinguish Janot's *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* as a genuine printing innovation (42). In addition to Herberay's translation, Janot's decisions regarding typesetting and layout "portent une indéniable volonté de rupture avec une tradition éditoriale du roman de chevalerie restée très vivace à Paris jusqu'à la fin des années 1530" (41). The break applies equally to the Iberian conventions for books of chivalry, particularly the Crombergers' printing conventions studied above. Janot's alterations relative to the traditional arrangement of printed books of chivalry encompassed substituting roman types for gothic ones; two columns for a single text block; large-scale illustrations for smaller-scale vignettes; and a more open layout with white space for a densely-packed *mise-en-page*. Chatelain understands large-scale illustrations either to occupy a full folio, as the title page illustrations of Iberian books of chivalry, or to span fully both text columns, although the height may vary (42). These alterations are clearly visible by comparing the Cromberger *Los quatro libros de Amadis de Gaula* (1526) with Editions IA and IB of Janot's *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (1540).

Rawles points to the printing of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* as one of the turning points in Janot's professional life, due to its "direct imitation of the best humanist

printing” (“Denis Janot” 24). The combination of the roman typefaces and the folio format in a book of chivalry like *Amadis* “marks a distinct change in his [Janot’s] production” (Rawles, “Earliest” 92) because Janot had only printed one other folio edition at that time, a 1538 edition of Justinus’s *Oeuvres* and this latter followed the pattern of “the tradition of gothic printed folios” (“Earliest” 92). “The 1540 *Amadis* [...] uses nothing but roman, and presents a totally different appearance from any earlier editions of any romance” (“Earliest” 93). No other vernacular translation of a chivalric novel had yet been taken on by a French printer “in an obviously humanistic spirit” (“Denis Janot” 30). The typography, illustrations, and format of the *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* all contribute to the “humanistic spirit” to which Rawles alludes and which Janot had employed in *Les angoyssees*.

As with *Les angoyssees* and most of his other imprints, Janot printed *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* with roman types (Rawles, “Earliest” 92), a typeface generally reserved for editions of classical poetry or philosophy. In addition to the “petit canon,” Janot acquired “grand-canon” roman types in 1537 or 1538, which he employed for titles, and “gros-romain” types circa 1539, which he incorporated in the *Amadis* imprints (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 33). In the early sixteenth century, gothic types and layouts were favored for Iberian books of chivalry in homage to their manuscript source texts (Cacho Blecua, “Iconografía” 3). However, the woodcuts Janot acquired for *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* diverge from French chivalric manuscript illuminations in that they were “thoroughly ‘renaissance’ as opposed to ‘gothic’ in style, and larger than those in any other set previously made for Janot” (Rawles, “Earliest” 93). They are of a higher caliber than those of almost any other one of his imprints (“Earliest” 93), larger than many previously used woodblocks –albeit not full-page illustrations in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*– and several were acquired especially for this project (Rawles, “Denis Janot”

59; Bideaux 74-75). The innovation of roman typeface being used in a chivalric romance combined with the new luxury woodcuts “emphasizes the intention of raising the visual qualities of a vernacular text to those expected from the great humanist works of the period” (Rawles, “Earliest” 93). Jane Taylor indicates that the novelty and luxury of Janot’s edition points to his anticipation of a significant success in the book market (149), a wager confirmed by the contract for the second book of the *Amadis* series. The favorable terms for Herberay’s translation of the second book show that the first book of *Amadis* was well-received and that the investors anticipated a good return on their investment (Rawles, “Earliest” 95).

In short, Janot printed a chivalric romance in the style of books generally read and approved by readers or consumers of luxury imprints and, by so doing, elevated the visual register of *Amadis de Gaule*. Such youthful readers as López de Ayala in the fourteenth century (quoted above) or Teresa de Ávila (8-10) and Michel de Montaigne in the sixteenth avidly consumed books of chivalry only to dismiss them as frivolous in their mature reflections: “Quant aux Amadis, et telles sortes d’escrits, ils n’ont pas eu le credit d’arrester seulement mon enfance” (Montaigne, *Les essais* 430).⁸² In the process of his typographical conversion of *Amadís* into *Amadis*, Janot reinvented himself as a printer and launched the most successful phase of his career, which culminated in 1543 when he was named “imprimeur du roy en langue francoyse” (Rawles, *Denis Janot* 31).

⁸² Montaigne’s first disparaging mention of the *Amadis* saga occurs in volume 1, chapter 25 of the *Essais*, when he classifies “des Lancelots du Lac, des Amadis, des Huons de Bordeaux” as “fatras de livres,” suitable for children’s amusement although not the young Montaigne’s (*Les essais* 182). He did have a Spanish language *Amadís* in his library, though (Bideaux 72), which Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien, and Catherine Magnien-Simonin identify as the *Dozena parte del invencible cavallero Amadis de Gaula* printed in Sevilla by Dominico de Robertis in 1549 (Montaigne, *Les essias* 1407 n. 4). Teresa de Ávila, who became enamored of books of chivalry by learning from her mother’s example, offers herself as an object lesson of a young woman in whom “gastar muchas horas del día y de la noche en tan vano ejercicio” led to her embrace of other “vanidades” of frivolous dress and less than virtuous company (9).

Janot's visual program for *Les angoyssees* existed in tension with Hélienne de Crenne's protestations that readers should receive her words as a cautionary tale. Conversely, his *mise-en-livre* for *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* complements Nicolas de Herberay's translation project to restore a cultural work to its "original" audience and to bring acclaim to France. Admittedly, Nicolas de Herberay claims at first that he does not translate to garner praise for himself, given the lightness of the translated material, "de trop peu de merite" (Herberay 166) in contrast to other works "plus haultes et ardues" from which Charles d'Orléans might turn to pass a pleasant interlude with *Amadis* (167). This could be false modesty or a reflection of the way that romances of chivalry were viewed by his compatriots in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, Nicolas de Herberay does not hesitate to anticipate that, with the favor of his patron, the translation doubtless "acquerra le premier lieu entre toutes les aultres histoires semblables" and will serve to "exalter la Gaule" (167). Whatever Nicolas de Herberay's opinion of the book's content, Janot's arrangement of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* presents it as a luxury volume, typographically resembling philosophical and classical literary works he and others printed in Paris in the mid-sixteenth century.

Printed books intended for scholarly reading encourage the creation of marginalia – underlining, translations of Latin words, glosses – on account of their content as well as their typographical characteristics, particularly white space on the folios on which readers may leave signs of their interaction with the printed page. Yet despite its typographical resemblance to more intellectual reading material, Nicolas de Herberay's prologue to *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* makes it clear that he, at least, anticipates the book will serve recreational rather than instructional purposes. He purposefully removes the Spanish language *Amadís de Gaula*'s "sermons," the passages that instruct readers on moral values such as avoiding greed (Rodríguez

de Montalvo 641-43); he finds them out-of-place in a book of chivalry (Herberay 166). It seems unlikely that readers who would fill the white space in scholarly imprints with notes would make the same use of white space in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. For this reason, Erik Berlatsky's theorization of the space between comic book panels offers helpful insight here. In comic books, "the space *between* frames [...] is known as the 'gutter,' and is where the reader must fill in movement. It is thus in the gutter that meaning is created" (Berlatsky 174, emphasis original). The folios of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* do not ask the reader to fill in the blanks between images the way that a comic book does between its panels. Instead, as a printed book, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* invites readers to read between and among the different elements on the folios: running title, chapter title, woodcut and frame, decorated initial, narrative text, white space. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, unlike in comic books, not only the white space, but also the narrative text is located outside the woodcut illustration and its frame pieces. As he and his collaborators prepared the folios of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, Denis Janot increased the white space in which readers actively interpret and shift between text and image in contrast to the gothic style of printing the Crombergers employed, which tended to fill as much available space as possible on each folio.

Although they describe comics directed to twentieth- and twenty-first-century audiences, Berlatsky's interpretations of readers' interaction with text, image, and white space in the "gutter" assists in illustrating the way that Janot's *mise-en-page* guided and agenticized readers' approach his imprints. The white space around each element on A2r of *Les angoysses* and folio 4r of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* plays a similar role to that of comic books' gutters in directing the way readers processed the printed information because, as Berlatsky notes, "each framing feature directs readers, with more or less strength, towards particular interpretive

conclusions” (175). Readers supply the action that occurs ‘in the gutter,’ between and around each folio’s features, with the help of context and their own assumptions. At times, *Les angoysses* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* challenge readers’ assumptions, presenting them with information that appears contradictory, a similar situation to the one Berlatsky describes in comic books: “Often texts will subvert the expectations they initially create, [...] and sometimes a reader’s role in ‘closing’ the gap between two frames is more active and more arduous than others” (176). On A2r of *Les angoysses*, readers must fill in the connection between an image of Venus and the admonition to chaste and ideal love. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, features that characterized reputedly cultured genres (roman types, folio format, a single text block) convey a story to fill readers’ hours of leisure. In both cases, the increased white space in Denis Janot’s visual program helps readers to accomplish the work of reading *Les angoysses* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* by loosening the rigidity of the reading pattern favored by gothic style printing. Janot’s typography also extends autonomy to readers so they might make associations between material elements within each printed book and with other books Janot printed, as the following example of material intertextuality shows.

The evidence of his extant imprints shows that Janot did not start using frames and compartments around his woodcuts until 1540. As previously stated, *Les angoysses* includes woodcuts, but none are framed, while the first edition of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* in July of 1540 (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 109) makes repeated use of side piece 1 around its woodcuts.⁸³ It seems likely that Janot used only a single set of side pieces because he was still in the process of acquiring these sets in the early 1540s. In Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the number of side pieces grows to three (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 110).

⁸³ The numbering of the borders (side pieces, head pieces and tail pieces) corresponds to the numbering in Rawles’s monograph, *Denis Janot (fl. 1529-1544), Parisian Printer and Bookseller: A Bibliography*.

According to Rawles' bibliographic analysis, in Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the woodcut on folio 4r stands out from the others, framed by not only side pieces, but also a head and tail piece (fig. 3-7). This decoration of folio 4r becomes particularly intriguing in light of the *mise-en-page* Janot arranged for the dedicatory letter of Hélienne de Crenne's *Eneydes* translation two years later (fig. 3-8). Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* and the *Eneydes* translation share side pieces 1, 3 and 4, but have only head piece 9 in common (Rawles, *Denis Janot* nos. 110, 347). While the *Eneydes* woodcuts, except for a single occasion, are framed on all four sides, only the folio 4r woodcut in *Amadis* is framed this way. The material intertextuality in the decoration of Janot's Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* with the dedicatory letter of Hélienne de Crenne's *Eneydes* translation recalls Zanger's assertions of "motivated recycling" in Janot's printed books (423). Zanger affirms the importance of recalling the "position of the early modern reader and imagin[ing] how he or she perceived books, not as individualized objects but as part of a larger system of recognizable signs constructing meaningful points of connection on multiple levels" (423). Understanding Janot's repetitive use of certain woodcuts and frame pieces provides further evidence that the Parisian printer intended that readers familiar with his stock should see his imprints in terms of each other.

The dedicatory letter to Hélienne de Crenne's *Eneydes* translation features a framed woodcut depicting a female writer figure who proffers a book to a seated monarch.⁸⁴ Diane Wood has stated that the image of the female author image was first used by Janot in *Amadis de Gaule* (63-64). However, my own examination of digital facsimiles of Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* and *Le second livre de Amadis de Gaule* (printed in Paris by Denis

⁸⁴ Brown provides an extended discussion of these author portraits in manuscript and printed books in "Text, Image, and Authorial Self-Consciousness."

Janot in 1541) in conjunction with Vaganay's and Rawles' bibliographical analyses of Janot's other *Amadis de Gaule* imprints leads me to disagree. There is no overlap in Janot's *Amadis de Gaule* editions and his editions of *Les angoyssees* and the *Eneydes* with respect to the woodcut illustrations themselves. However, one significant similarity does exist between folio 4r of Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* and the dedicatory letter of the *Eneydes* translation: Janot reused head piece 9 from the frame on Edition I B's folio 4r for the woodcut on the first folio of the *Eneydes* dedication.

Folio 1r is lacking in the Bibliothèque Nationale's digital facsimile of the Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. However, with Vaganay's and Rawles' studies and Bideaux's critical edition of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, it is clear what the illustration would have been: a heading for the first chapter would have been followed by a woodcut of two knights fighting a lion (Vaganay 6; Herberay 181) surrounded on the left and right by side piece 1 (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 110). This decorative style is typical of every other chapter, except for the second. Curiously, the decoration heading the second chapter is more elaborate, with the woodcut bordered by side piece 4, tail piece 9 and head piece 9. This is the only entirely framed woodcut in the Edition I B of Book One (*Denis Janot* no. 110) and it stands out even more in an imprint with plenty of white space surrounding the small, though intricately designed woodcuts (Chatelain 42). This means that the most ornately decorated illustration appears before the second chapter rather than on the title page or the first chapter. In addition, the generally looser typographical arrangement of the folios permits readers more freedom to move at will among the visual and verbal components. These editorial decisions emphasize the material intertexts that allude to *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*'s indebtedness to *Les angoyssees*.

The running title, “De Amadis de Gaule” is positioned directly above the chapter title printed in larger roman type, “Comme l’infante *Elisene* & sa [...]” (fol. 4r, emphasis added). The deployment of type places Amadis de Gaule in relation with his mother, Elisenne, while at the same time implicitly recalling the previous Hélienne de Crenne whose successful *Les angoisses* made possible the printing of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. The two nobles in the woodcut represent Elisenne and King Perion. The illustration depicts Elisenne’s lady-in-waiting conducting her mistress to a rendezvous with the man she loves, Perion. The conception of a son, Amadis, is implied in the depiction of Elisenne and Perion’s encounter. The chapter’s text offers a more explicit hint: “Amour rompant les fors lyens de sa sainte et chaste vie, luy fait soubdain muer propos, la rendant peu après de belle fille, belle femme” (Herberay 193). Janot, as well as any readers who, like Marie Pierre de Crocquoison, owned copies of both Hélienne de Crenne’s works and books from the *Amadis de Gaule* cycle might also have connected Hélienne de Crenne to the fictional Elisenne and recalled the former’s role in the conception of the *Amadis* project. Also of note is the increase in decorative elements in Edition I B compared with Edition I A. Not only did Janot have enough capital to print two luxury folio editions of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*; he also was able to acquire two more sets of side pieces and a head piece to adorn the woodcuts in the second print run, especially on folio 4r that visually ties Amadis to Elisenne (or Hélienne).

Considering its previous appearance in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the reuse of head piece 9 in the last book by Hélienne de Crenne that Janot printed ends the lineage of material intertextuality among these imprints. The material intertext of the common head piece of Edition I B of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* and the *Eneydes* creates an allusion between the different, but related woodcut images it frames. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de*

Gaule, head piece 9 surmounts the illustration of a king and princess. In the *Eneydes* translation, head piece 9 tops another woodcut of a king and a lady, but this time the lady offers the king not her body, but a book. The material intertext of head piece 9 invites a reading of these woodcuts in dialogue with one another. As the discussion of negotiations on title pages and illustrated folios has demonstrated, Janot's co-authorship with H elisenne de Crenne yielded imprints that both upheld and challenged the expressed purposes of each contributor. The commercial interest garnered by H elisenne de Crenne's female body, in addition to her collaboration with Janot, made possible the printing of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, as King Perion's and Queen Elisenne's fruitful union produced Amadis de Gaule. Regarding the books she herself wrote or translated, H elisenne de Crenne becomes more like the woman in the *Eneydes* woodcut, offering her intellectual labor to the court (and the book market). The genealogy of the material intertexts from *Les angoyssees* to *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* expands to include H elisenne de Crenne's translation of the *Eneydes*, through the material intertext of the *Amadis* frame piece.

The royal commission of a translation of *Amadis* indicates, in retrospect, an additional interpretation of the woodcut on the *Eneydes* translation's dedicatory letter below head piece 9. In her description of the woodcut that illustrates the *Eneydes* dedication, Wood reflects that it would be tempting to identify the woman with H elisenne de Crenne and the monarch with Fran ois I (64), or the royal who commissioned the translation. The enticing hypothesis is somewhat obstructed by the degree to which Janot, like other printers, reused woodcuts rather than acquiring fresh ones for each new project. Yet there is more evidence to connect H elisenne de Crenne with the pictured author figure than simply her role as the *Aeneid*'s translator. As previously shown, the dedication image's frame alludes to chapter two of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, another translation whose commission Nicolas de Herberay credits alternately

in his prologues to François I and Charles d'Orléans (Bideaux 59 n. 2), while *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* employs material intertextuality to refer to Hélienne de Crenne's *Les angoyssees*. The material intertextuality of these printed books does invite a reading of the *Eneydes* woodcut as Hélienne de Crenne offering both translations, *Amadis* and the *Eneydes*, to the sovereign who requested them. The French versions of Amadis's and Aeneas's exploits would not have existed without her direct influence on Janot and his print shop, and the material intertexts between Hélienne de Crenne's works and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* bear witness to this parentage.

The examination of material intertextuality in Janot's imprints illuminates the roles of author and printer in play during the publishing of these imprints, books which were either written by a woman or carried an appeal to women and to men. Although Janot might seem to contribute to the promotion of women's voices –or pens– in a society which tended to resist, at least nominally, women's participation in book trade, this is only part of his larger ideological project as a printer. It also complicates the claim that such books were aimed exclusively at a female readership. Janot took advantage of a female writer's novelty and exaggerated the immodest aspects of Hélienne de Crenne's amorous narrative by subverting her virtuous claims with a seductive woodcut in *Les angoyssees*. Friendly advice and cautionary tale, therefore, become either a liberating expression of female desire or the continued objectification and commodification of that desire by a printer bent on accumulating capital for the luxury volume of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. As for Hélienne de Crenne, if a printer could become an author, as Réach-Ngô proposes, could not an author adopt the sensibilities of a printer? Just as Amadís, offspring of Elisena and Perión, grew to become a hero, the French *Amadis de Gaule*,

with its vast print tradition continuing into the seventeenth century, came into being through the printerly parentage of Denis Janot and Hélisenne de Crenne.

“Estant Amadis Gaulois [&] Espagnol:” Printing as Translation

By studying material intertextuality in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the effects of the Crombergers’ and Janot’s “printership” become manifest in the printed books. One prime space to study how printers shifted manuscript to print is what Mak terms “[t]he architecture of the page.” Imprints whose pages’ architecture most effectively enacted the “complex and responsive entanglement of platform, text, image, graphic markings, and blank space” (Mak 5) may have been reprinted and imitated over time. This was the case for both the Crombergers’ *Amadís de Gaula* and Janot’s *Amadis de Gaule* series. The number of editions of the Cromberger *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* in the first half of the sixteenth century confirms the demand for the *Amadís de Gaula* series in general and the Cromberger editions in particular.⁸⁵ A further indication of the positive reception of the Crombergers’ *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* lies in the fact that other presses used it as a model, both on the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy (Griffin, *Crombergers* 190-91). Yet, although Nicolas de Herberay utilized the Crombergers’ *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (1526) as a source for his translation, Denis Janot departed from the Cromberger template in his edition of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. Some of these departures took the form of the transition from gothic to roman typography, as discussed above. Unlike Antonio Martín de Salamanca in Rome and Juan Antonio de Sabia in Venice who appear to treat “national differences” as “literary passports” that paved the way for *Amadís de Gaula* in Italy (Coldiron 10), Janot chose to abandon the established pictorial program in his edition, in terms of design and the way words

⁸⁵ Jorge Coci only reprinted his edition once in 1521.

were articulated with images, “making [foreign] alterities invisible” in his edition (Coldiron 10). In this, Janot’s transformation of *Amadís de Gaula* into *Amadis de Gaule* echoes Nicolas de Herberay’s translation. Both the linguistic and the printerly translations distance their work from the Iberian models to prove verbally and visually that “Amadis [était] Gaulois, & non Espagnol” (Herberay 166).

One of the major editorial alterations from previous models that Chatelain attributes to Janot involves his favoring smaller-scale woodcuts. Smaller-scale woodcuts were not uncommon in Iberian and Italian printed editions of *Amadís de Gaula*, but unlike the woodcuts in Janot’s *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, they inevitably filled approximately the same space in the column that the words did (Chatelain 44). Janot’s *mise-en-page* for *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* takes advantage of white space around illustrations. The white space is much less apparent in the Cromberger editions. In these editorial decisions, the Crombergers and Janot respond to their readers’ expectations, tailoring their imprints to their specific, local markets. As Susan Hagan observes, “[D]ifferences in looking can lead to important differences in interpretation” (50). Examining how the Crombergers in the earlier part of the sixteenth century and Janot in 1540 positioned woodcuts on printed folios suggests potential conclusions about the how readers looked at each text as well as the reading practices characteristic of each printer’s milieu (Zanger 423-24).

Janot’s *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* stands apart from the second through fifth books for the uniqueness of Book One’s visual program. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the chapters’ illustrations and the chapters’ content are closely associated, with the woodcuts depicting the content with near exactitude (Chatelain 50). Over the course of Janot’s *Amadis de Gaule* series, the association between word and image diminishes. Janot reuses

woodcuts in the corpus of illustrations with greater frequency. They become less uniquely linked to individual episodes and more representative of general situations and are thus able to be reused in imprints outside the *Amadis* saga (Chatelain 51-52). Like Janot's *Amadis* imprints after *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the majority of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*'s woodcuts are generic rather than specific to *Amadís* and the Cromberger press employed them in imprints other than *Amadís de Gaula*, such as *Oliveros* (1507). Eight illustrations in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* had previously appeared in *Oliveros*, for example.⁸⁶ Other illustrations overlapped with the Cromberger editions of *Tristán de Leonís* (between 1503 and 1507) and Juan de Mena's *La coronación* (1512) (Cacho Blecua, "Los grabados" 66-68).

Printers, then, balanced the delight they could inspire in readers by featuring a brand-new, unique woodcut with the expense and relative impracticality of populating their limited storage space with woodcuts that could only be used to illustrate a discrete number of scenes. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, for which Janot acquired twelve new woodcuts to illustrate specific scenes from the *Amadis* narrative, only fourteen of forty-four chapters are illustrated. In contrast, although only five of Crombergers' woodcuts depict scenes specific to Book One of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, each of the forty-three numbered chapters boast an accompanying illustration at or near the chapter's beginning.⁸⁷ The Crombergers' and Janot's respective uses of white space conditioned reading practices of their printed editions. Contemporary analyses of how humans process printed information are helpful in drawing

⁸⁶ The woodcuts that appear in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* at the start of chapters 2, 9, 17, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29, 34, 39, 40, and 52 were used previously in *Oliveros*.

⁸⁷ Nicolas de Herberay alters the chapter numbering in his translation of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, labelling what would have been "Comiença la obra" as the first chapter, thus creating forty-four numbered chapters rather than the Spanish language versions' forty-three.

conclusions about the effects of more or less white space on how readers processed printed folios.

Basing her observations on cognitive studies, Hagan points out that humans tend to process visually in the simplest way possible: “The easiest thing to do with text, relatively speaking, is to maintain its sequence. The easiest thing to do when looking at images, which the eye sees by way of active looking from feature to feature, is to follow one’s own history and interests” (50). While Hagan works with twentieth- and twenty-first-century cognitive science and images, some of her findings regarding information processing apply to humans’ reading and viewing practices in the sixteenth century as well. As Coldiron shows in her analysis of a polyglot printed broadsheet with the translated poems arranged in two irregular stacks, the placement of text in columns or column-like stacks promotes “vertical reading down the sides” over other potential reading patterns (243). In the Cromberger *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, the dense layout is primarily text-based, the text and woodcuts are printed in the same black ink on white paper, and the woodcuts fit into the text block so compactly that they almost blend into the words. These features together work to collapse the visual distinction between word and image on printed folios, giving the woodcuts “the same black and white structure as the word” (Camille, “Reading” 283). The Crombergers chose woodcuts that fit exactly within the text column and placed them near the start of each chapter, training readers to treat them as tools to locate divisions in the narrative, as the *calderones* and chapter headings. Like the textual material at the start of chapters, the woodcuts provided a preview of the episode to come. The tight arrangement of visual and verbal elements, perceived by readers as “one integrated unit on the page” (Rivera, “Performance” 8), steadily guides them in a relatively sequential manner through the folios. Yet because few woodcuts were designed specifically for the individual

chapters of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, readers would also have to engage in interpretive activity, reading the woodcuts in terms of the chapter title and the chapter content and, occasionally, making hermeneutical jumps facilitated by material intertextuality. One of the woodcuts depicts two knights engaged in combat in a *campo cerrado* (Griffin, *Descriptive WC*: 412). This woodcut previously appeared in the *Oliveros* and is reused three times in Book One of the Crombergers' *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*. A comparison of two of these occasions, chapters 9 and 25, demonstrate how the limited amount of white space in the Crombergers' *Amadís de Gaula* led readers to navigate the text sequentially.

The Crombergers' *mise-en-page* encouraged readers to treat word and image on a similar plane, leading them to process the folios' elements as though they were text, "maintain[ing] its sequence" (Hagan 50). Using their sequential reading pattern, readers would be able to determine that the woodcut of the two knights engaged in combat on folio 17v represented Amadís in the guise of the Donzel del Mar and the king Abiés, reading straight from the chapter heading, "Cómo el Donzel del Mar fizo batalla con el rey Abiés sobre la guerra que tenía con el rey Perión de Gaula" (317), to the image. Due to the sequential processing of title followed by image followed by chapter text, readers easily avoided confusing Amadís and Abiés with Oliveros de Castilla and Artus Dalgarbe, although the same woodcut was used in the Cromberger *Oliveros*. Readers likely recognized the material intertext of the woodcut. However, the sequential reading pattern to which they were accustomed by the Crombergers' layout of books of chivalry taught them to read the labels and chapter headings, then to view the woodcut, and finally to proceed with the narrative. On folio 49r of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, readers would again engage with word and image to determine that this time, the battling knights were not Amadís and Abiés but rather Galaor and Palingues or one of the men who defended him. Although

Galaor fought his opponents on foot, not on horseback, the sequential reading pattern that *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* encouraged in its readers helped them to avoid an interpretive pitfall; the chapter heading stacked above the woodcut on folio 49r informed readers that one of the combatants is Galaor; from there, readers turned the folio and were able to fill in the blanks as they continued reading the chapter. Readers' comprehension emerged as input from unfolding visual and textual codes informed and shaped initial interpretations.

In contrast to the Crombergers' style, Denis Janot's "architecture of the page" increased the amount of white space around typographical elements in *Les angoyssees* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*. This editorial choice led readers to process the folios more like images than text. According to Hagan, while "[t]he easiest thing to do with text [...] is to maintain its sequence," with images "which the eye sees by way of active looking from feature to feature," readers tend to follow a more idiosyncratic –as opposed to sequential– reading pattern (50). While reading a folio of *Les angoyssees* or *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, with the white space making the *mise-en-page* more shape-based and, thus, more image-like, readers might engage in more "active looking from feature to feature." On A2r in *Les angoyssees* or folio 4r in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, the increased white space gives readers more autonomy. In *Les angoyssees*, they might jump back and forth, attempting to reconcile Hélienne de Crenne's dedication and the Venus image. In *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, their eyes might fall first on the woodcut of Perion, Élisenne, and Dariolette because the four frame pieces drew their attention to it. After examining the elaborately framed image, readers could continue to the chapter heading or the running title, all the while locating and processing material intertexts, as this chapter has suggested.

The white space that pervades *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*'s title page and that accentuates the verbal and visual features on folio 4r does increase clarity, as Chatelain proposes (42). It has applications beyond aesthetics, though. The white space interacts with isolated words and phrases, lines of text, text blocks, woodcuts, and frames, inviting readers to perceive not only the content, but also the borders around the illustrations and the shapes that groupings of sword and image create. Francomano explains how words' placement in title page woodcuts affects readers' processing of the folio as a whole: "[T]he sequential perception of reading printed words is mapped onto the more freely moving spatial focusing of the eye. Discrete pieces of information are all available simultaneously, and sequencing –the focusing and refocusing necessary for looking at an image– depends upon the viewer's habits and horizon of iconographic expectations" (152). Francomano's analysis of the integration of xylographically reproduced word and image also applies to a folio like 4r in *Amadis de Gaule*. When they encountered folio 4r, readers first perceived the folio as a whole, with words and images as appearing as shapes or forms. Once the eye has established an image-based viewing pattern, it proceeds feature by feature according to readers' preference, as textual or visual content to be processed (Hagan 50). This freer movement from shape to shape enabled readers to fix upon the running title and the chapter heading, for instance, and to connect Amadis and Élisenne with Hélienne de Crenne.

At the same time, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* is not without linear guides, such as catchwords. Intended as an aid for compositors and those assembling folios, they proved useful for readers as well by providing a preview of upcoming content and promoting readers' continuation to the subsequent folio. When conducting material analyses of codices, it is helpful to recall that each folio, as with folio 4r and 3v, forms part of a two-folio spread, a "series of

ordered openings” (Hamburger 76, 86). In the case of folio 3v, the catchword “Comme” is situated in the white space below the text block. Here, as above, white space is active space, as Mak indicates: “[T]he spaces between words, between lines, and around the text block can be understood as visual and cognitive breaks, employed by designers and readers as a way to moderate the pace of engagement with the page” (17). The white space at the foot of 3v is not empty, but rather a space of activity and decision that either allows readers to rest or pushes readers to lift their eyes in search of the “Comme” on the next page and to continue reading.⁸⁸

Whether a dense, text-based layout or a looser, image-like one, the Crombergers and Janot actively participated in the authorship of the texts they printed. Rodríguez de Montalvo hoped his improvements would make “la cavallería y actos della” apt for readers of all ages (225); Nicolas de Herberay aspired to a translation that would deliver enjoyment to “ceulx qui n’entenderont le langaige Espagnol” (166). Similarly, the “architecture of the page” that the Crombergers and Janot chose to employ influenced readers’ engagement with the *Amadís de Gaula/Amadis de Gaule* texts, “translating” through materiality.

By pointing out these material intertexts, I propose the borders that literary scholarship sometimes imposes between devotional books and books of chivalry become porous when these texts are studied through the lens of print culture. Just as today’s literary canon differs from books that passed for “best-sellers” in the late medieval and early modern periods (Whinnom, “Problem” 189), today’s genre and disciplinary classifications obscure how and why printers designed and readers consumed books like *Amadís de Gaula* and *Thesoro* in similar ways. Such a perspective also provides a means to put into dialogue literary works, such as *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* and *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, that usually are treated separately

⁸⁸ I am grateful to Isidro Rivera for this insight.

due to linguistic or geographic differences. In the case of translated books in the sixteenth century, printers' strategic deployment of printing techniques served as an aspect of translation. My conclusions here invite further study of devotional books alongside books ordinarily classified as non-devotional genres. The following chapter undertakes this task by investigating material intertexts from devotional books, including *Thesoro*, in a Latin translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*.

Chapter Four

Images of Devotion, Images of Destruction: Pity, Piety, and the Passion in De Bry's
*Narratio regionum indicarum per hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*⁸⁹

The Dutch translation of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, printed by Heyndric Heyndricz in Antwerp in 1616, contains a woodcut in Act 13 that illustrates Sempronio's and Pármeno's execution (fig. 4-1).⁹⁰ This image stands out from the others in Heyndricz's edition as it does not imitate one of the xylographic illustrations from the edition of the *Tragicomedia* prepared in Jorge Coci's print shop with Pedro Bernuz and Bartólome de Nájera in Zaragoza 1545 (Kish 526), nor is it specific to the *Tragicomedia*. The *Tragicomedia*, like *Amadís de Gaula* and the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1552; hereafter *Brevísima*), migrated from Iberia to northern European printing centers (Kish 526). The *Tragicomedia*'s illustration of a gallows execution –intended to represent Sempronio's and

⁸⁹ This chapter was supported by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese of the University of Kansas under the Vicky Unruh Research Travel Award and by the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Kansas under the Exter Marguerite Memorial Prize.

⁹⁰ This witness is housed in the British Library and is available in digital facsimile, shelfmark Digital Store 11725.a.7.

Pármeno's deaths— includes a single victim, a tormentor, and onlookers. In this way, it resembles other depictions of execution scenes from the early modern period, including woodcut interpretations of the Crucifixion or an engraving of the deaths of a group of indigenous men and women by the well-known Dutch engraver and printer, Theodor de Bry (fig. 4-2). The latter engraving appears in a printed translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima*. The translation, entitled *Narratio regionum indiarum per hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*, was printed in Frankfurt by De Bry in 1598 (henceforth *Narratio verissima*).⁹¹

The material intertextuality between these images of capital punishment makes the Dutch translation of the *Tragicomedia* (Antwerp, 1616) a suitable place to begin tracing the print and translation trajectory through Spain to the Netherlands and Germany of Iberian texts like the *Tragicomedia* or Las Casas's *Brevísima*.⁹² Heyndricz's woodcut features an unclothed youth whom soldiers force to climb to his execution upon a gallows while other figures in European dress observe the scene. It recalls the vignettes of violence, perpetrated by Spanish soldiers against the indigenous populations of the Americas, that became widespread through the publications of printers and engravers like Theodor de Bry. De Bry's engravings "became ubiquitous in Europe, but not in Spain, where comparatively few illustrations about the New World circulated during the same period" (Beck 503).⁹³ The deaths and executions in the text of the *Tragicomedia* also present certain similarities to the *Brevísima* due to the graphic nature of the violence presented for readers' and viewers' consumption (Bergman 61-62).

⁹¹ I have used the digital facsimile of the Frankfurt 1598 exemplar housed in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, shelfmark F1411 .C462.

⁹² Kathleen Kish summarizes the print history of the *Tragicomedia* in the Netherlands (526).

⁹³ The afterlives of these engravings, reproduced in the context of translations of the *Brevísima* and independently, contributed to an enduring campaign to defame the Spanish nation that Julián Juderías studied in 1954 as *la leyenda negra* (Powell 10-11, 80).

The woodcut that accompanies Act 13 in Heyndricz's edition also forms a material intertext with customary representations of the Crucifixion: a single, nude victim subjected to a public spectacle of state-imposed death that involved being raised above a watching crowd. Merback's definition of spectacle is useful here: "By 'spectacle' (from the Latin *specto*, meaning 'to look at') we mean [...] a sight, an event or performance which is set up and enacted mainly to be seen" (18). The prevalence of Passion-related imagery in art, devotional books, and artifacts of public and private devotion ensured that scenes of public execution had the Passion as a backdrop (Merback 17). The brutal, unabashed representations of mutilation and slaughter of the De Bry engravings—even more graphic than the illustration that accompanied the scene of Pármeno's and Sempronio's deaths—would likely not have registered as extreme to readers and viewers of his imprints; by the late sixteenth century, European readers and viewers had long been accustomed to lingering over images of violence and the torture of Christ, saints, and martyrs during their moments of private devotion.

Despite this, limited scholarship has been dedicated to tracing the continuity between the De Bry engravings in the *Narratio verissima* and Catholic devotional books' visual programs. In part, this may be traced to Theodor de Bry's Protestant convictions. Yet Protestants also employed accounts and depictions of tormented martyrs for devotional and educational purposes, such as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (London, 1563) or Jean Crespin's *Le livre des martyrs* (Geneva, 1554).⁹⁴ This chapter aims to situate the *Narratio verissima* engravings within the tradition of graphic representations of violence that intended to awaken pity and compassion in those who contemplated them. The language employed in the *Narratio verissima*'s introductory

⁹⁴ Crespin refers to these dual purposes in the preface: "En quoy il est du tout necessaire que les fideles *pour remede en leurs foiblesses*, reduisent en memoire, & se proposent deuant les yeux les exemples de ceux qui ont maintenu la verite de la doctrine du Fils de Dieu, & qui on constamment endure la mort pour la confession d'icelle" (*2v, emphasis added).

material as well as the images themselves reach back to the affective spirituality described in Chapter Two. The present chapter will make plain the correlations in habits of reading and visual paradigm that links the *Narratio verissima* to earlier printed devotional books, particularly *La passion del eterno principe Jhesu xpo en romançe* (Burgos, [1493]; henceforth *La passion*), *Thesoro dela passion sacratissima de nuestro redemptor* (Zaragoza, 1494; henceforth *Thesoro*), and *La dolorosa passio del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist* (Barcelona 1518; henceforth *La dolorosa*). The continuity of devotional practices as evinced in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* suggests ways in which a printer and engraver from the Netherlands like Theodor de Bry, even at the waning of the sixteenth century and given his conversion to Protestantism, would have been aware of incunabular and early sixteenth-century Catholic devotional books, such as those that Ignacio de Loyola, Lope de Vega, and other book owners and writers knew.

Bypassing the critical tendency to focus on the *Narratio verissima*'s condemnation of Spanish avarice and cruelty in the Americas, I instead propose a study of the material intertexts of the *Narratio verissima* engravings that contain Catholic iconography and that appear to evoke devotional practices centered on what Bynum terms "the violent quality of religiosity itself" and "its visual violence" (3). To this purpose, I situate the *Narratio verissima*, with its visual presentation of violent spectacle, as a continuation of the devotional project undertaken by printers in the late medieval and early modern Iberian world. Although De Bry's plates in the *Narratio verissima* have been read through a Protestant lens, the use of Latin in the translation and the images that represent the indigenous peoples of the Americas as figures of Christ who suffer pious passions suggest a continuation of Las Casas's and his predecessors' project of stimulating repentance through pity and compassion. The analysis of the *Narratio verissima*'s participation in an Iberian Catholic devotional program highlights material intertexts among

devotional books discussed in Chapter Two with engravings from De Bry's edition. I emphasize shared elements in the imprints' visual program to establish a framework of devotional literature for the *Narratio verissima* that depends on meditation on violent images such as Christ's Passion. The chapter then turns to examine the use of violence itself in devotional images and the problematic application of this paradigm to indigenous peoples to save them from oppression. Far from freeing the oppressed, aligning the victims of colonization with religious martyrs appropriates the indigenous peoples' torment and transforms it into a tool in the Protestant struggle against Spanish rule of the Netherlands. The violent spectacle in the *Narratio verissima*'s engravings does not liberate, but enslaves, binding the indigenous figures represented to the myth of the Passion and postulating their suffering as a prerequisite for their redemption.

Theodor de Bry (b. Liège, 1528; d. Frankfurt, 1598) was a goldsmith, engraver, and printer.⁹⁵ As a member of the rising merchant class in the early modern Netherlands, he likely received a humanist education with a firm grounding in reading and communicating in Latin (Bloemendal 542). Later, De Bry studied engraving at an academy with Protestant leanings; he likely converted to Protestantism there (Gravatt 226). He departed Liège in 1570, writing around this time that he had suffered a loss of his position and fortune (Gravatt 226). Duviols connects his departure from the southern Netherlands in 1570 with his Protestant religious convictions, considering that he left during the Duke of Alba's rule (1567-1572) ("Théodore" 8). However, Patricia Gravatt points to a lack of evidence that his leave-taking was related to his religious beliefs (226-27). Afterward, De Bry lived in France and spent some time in London in 1587 (Duviols, "Théodore" 8). While there, he began printing and illustrating English travelers'

⁹⁵ Theodor de Bry died the same year the *Narratio verissima* was printed.

accounts of the Americas (Gravatt 227). De Bry and his family settled definitively in Frankfurt in 1588, where he printed the large-scale projects with intricate illustrations for which he is best-known: most notably, the volumes of the *Grands Voyages*, also known as the *Americas* series (Gravatt 227).⁹⁶ De Bry produced his own engravings until 1594 when his sons, Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel, began working with him (Keazor 135). These sons took over their father's business and are the ones to sign the *Narratio verissima*'s title page and dedication.

Except for *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* by Girolamo Benzoni, which he used as source material for the fourth volume of the *Grands Voyages*, and Las Casas, De Bry only published Huguenot authors (Duviols, "Théodore" 8, 10). Even so, De Bry studied the work of Albrecht Dürer ("Théodore" 8), who, despite his admiration of Martin Luther, remained Catholic throughout his life. It is possible that De Bry, consciously or not, reproduced scenes of Catholic devotion that he had internalized through Dürer's influence. Critical attention has focused on how De Bry took Las Casas's apparent "anti-Catholicism" and accentuated it with violent images. The implementation of illustrations for a purportedly Protestant cause indicates the value of revisiting the dichotomy between Protestant iconoclasm and Catholic veneration of devotional images. The mutual influence between Spain and the Netherlands during the time the latter had been incorporated into the Spanish empire likely contributed to De Bry's familiarity with Iberian Catholic iconographic traditions. Moreover, as Bob Scribner reminds us, despite a certain scholarly neglect of the role of pious images in the Protestant tradition, leaders of the Reformation movement did advocate for the didactic and devotional utility of religious images in some circumstances (462). Tom Conley explains how De Bry's experience with Catholic Spain led him to seek out books in service of a Protestant vision that he could publish (104). Duviols

⁹⁶ The *Americas* volumes that De Bry supervised before his death appeared between 1590 and 1596; after his decease, his heirs took over the project.

also classifies the *Narratio verissima*, particularly with the presence of the polemical engravings, as a tool in the “guerra de las imágenes” that accompanied the Wars of Religion (“Guerra” 100). For Lawrence A. Clayton, the *Brevísima*, with its heated defense of the rights of indigenous populations in the face of the conquistadors’ greed and oppression, forms the foundation for the diffusion by other European countries of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiment (391, 395). Conversely, Gravatt redirects contemporary scholarship’s attention to De Bry’s prefaces to the *Americas* series, in which he appears to hold no particular grudge against Spanish Catholics as such: “I have [...] known among Spaniards many men who were neither less pious nor less honest than those of any other nation. This I say without the slightest prejudice” (qtd. in Gravatt 241). Both De Bry’s words and the visual program of his Latin edition of the *Brevísima* provide a foundation to argue for the *Narratio verissima*’s material intertextuality with Catholic devotional imprints.

The common rulership and political structure of Spain and the regions that formed its European empire implied a shared body of knowledge among sixteenth-century readers. Printers throughout the Iberian world and other European areas would have drawn on this knowledge as they prepared printed books to meet the demands and expectations of a trans-regional book market in Europe. The Netherlands, the country of De Bry’s birth, and Spain were united in trade, politics, and cultural exchange throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Just as printers moved across frontiers, often at the request of monarchs and religious leaders, dynastic forces and alliances in the Spanish empire continued to shape print culture in the early modern period. The monarch who united the royal houses of Valois-Burgundy (the Netherlands), Habsburg (the Holy Roman Empire), and Trastámara (Castilla and Aragón) was Carlos I.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁷ Carlos I became Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 and took the name Carlos V. Chapter Three discusses his capture of François I, which may have helped to bring about the French translation of *Amadís de Gaula*.

courts of Spain and the Netherlands were so closely intertwined that Carlos (r. 1518-1556), though the Trastámara heir, was born in Flanders and spoke Spanish poorly when the Cortes de Castilla proclaimed him king (Thomas and Stols 18). His son Felipe (r. 1556-1598) inherited and fought to keep the Netherlands under Spanish control. Felipe's struggles with his subjects in the Netherlands had political as well as religious motives. Under his rule, the southern Netherlands shared in the Spanish empire's economic prosperity, particularly the city of Antwerp, which played a key role in the publication and distribution of printed books in Spanish and for readers on the Iberian Peninsula.

However, unrest grew as the Protestantism gained traction. The book trade reflected dissatisfaction with the Spanish monarchy's handling of Protestantism in the Netherlands. The *Brevísima* exemplifies how the printing industry could mirror political strife in terms of the texts authors wrote and translated as well as the materiality of the printed books themselves. Carlos V coordinated with the pope to install an apostolic Inquisition in the Netherlands in 1522 (Parker, *Dutch* 61); as early as 1523, the first Protestant execution was held, a number which grew to some two thousand under Carlos V (*Dutch* 36-37). Following his father's abdication, one of Felipe II's aims was to eradicate Lutheranism from the Iberian Peninsula, to which end the *autos* between 1550 and 1562 were held (Thomas and Stols 23). As relations between the Netherlands and Spain worsened, Felipe turned his attention to controlling religious and political rebellions in his northern territories (23). With the nobles' distaste for harsh punishments for Protestant "heresy" imposed by the Spanish Crown and the Iconoclasm in the late summer and fall of 1566 evincing the growing Protestant sympathies, the Netherlands's restlessness under Spanish rule increased. Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, the Duke of Alba, arrived in 1568 to quell the first in a series of revolts against Felipe II. It was around this time that De Bry left the

Netherlands and began integrating himself into the wider European book trade as an engraver and printer with a particular interest in representing scenes of oppression of the Americas in print. Early November of 1576 saw Spanish soldiers looting and killing in Antwerp (Behiels and Kish 12). Prior to 1577, the city had been Catholic. When Spain conceded defeat, having faced years of financial strain by carrying on simultaneous offensives in the Netherlands and in the Mediterranean, Antwerp became temporarily Calvinist (Behiels and Kish 13). The French translation of the *Brevísima* (Antwerp, 1579) was printed during this convenient window of relief from Catholic censorship (Van Rossem 1; Saint-Lu 440).

Once Felipe II had secured a temporary truce with the Ottoman Empire, he renewed his efforts in the Netherlands (Parker, *Spain* 34). In the 1580s, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, concentrated on retaking the southern Netherlands and placed them again under Spanish control (*Spain* 34). Following the fall of Antwerp to the Spanish in 1585, England entered the conflict on the Protestant rebels' side (*Spain* 36). The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by English forces coincided with the halt in Felipe II's attempts to reconquer the northern Netherlands provinces. As the sixteenth century and the Wars of Religion progressed, the northern provinces became a Protestant republic while the southern Netherlands remained Roman Catholic, ruled as part of the Spanish empire under Felipe II until his death in 1598 (Behiels and Kish 12).⁹⁸ Not coincidentally, the latter years of the sixteenth century witnessed the translation and publication of the *Brevísima* in languages and within cities of the countries (the Netherlands, France, England, Germany) that directly or indirectly resisted Spain's efforts to maintain economic and political superiority.

⁹⁸ The conflict was not ultimately resolved until the conclusion of the Eighty Years' War in 1648 with the Peace of Münster, in which Spain recognized Dutch independence.

Despite growing religious and political differences, Spain owed some of the richness of its book trade to exchange with printers in the Netherlands. During Isabel I de Castilla's and Fernando II de Aragón's reign, the court cherished a fondness for Netherlandish art, culture, and religious practices (Álvarez 15-18). The monarchs' itinerant court, with multiple palaces to decorate across their realm, increased opportunities for patronage of artists and artisans (Álvarez 11). Later, when the *Index of Prohibited Books* of 1559 tightened regulations on printed books on religious topics in vernacular languages and with Felipe II favoring the expertise of printers from his father's native Netherlands, Brussels and Antwerp largely assumed responsibility for printing and exporting religious books to Iberian buyers (López-Vidriero 251-52; Van Rossem 19). During the 1540s and 1550s, Johannes Steels and Martin Nucio led the market of Spanish book production in Antwerp (Van Rossem 18), but the trend of exporting to Spain continued through the early seventeenth century (14).⁹⁹ Jaime Moll estimates that more books in Spanish were printed in Antwerp than in any other European city outside Spain itself in the sixteenth century (118), with the primary printers and exporters of book to Iberian markets being Nucio (who had worked in Spain), Steels, and Christopher Plantin (Moll 127), of whom Felipe II designated the latter his royal typographer in 1570 (López-Vidriero 251). As part of the agreement with Felipe II for printing the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (1568-1572), Plantin was granted privileges to print Spanish liturgical books and other religious materials for the Iberian Peninsula following the Council of Trent (Brekka 12).

The conflicted history between Spain and the Netherlands personally touched De Bry; his choice of Frankfurt was likely due as much to its being a place of refuge for Protestants as to its being a center of German printing (Flood 33). Censorship and persecution led Protestant

⁹⁹ For details of Steels's and Nucio's businesses in the context of the Iberian book market, see César Manrique Figueroa, "Sixteenth-Century Spanish Editions Printed in Antwerp."

practitioners of the book trade, or those who printed Protestant materials, to seek refuge in the northern provinces, Germany, or England (Hoftijzer 214). Similarly, De Bry's choice of the *Brevísima* during his production of the *Americas* series was surely prompted by his assessment of the Frankfurt book market and the type of books most likely to sell there. The commercial success of the *Brevísima*, a text that inveighed against oppressive Spanish colonial practices, had already been tested in Antwerp in Dutch and French translations. One of the nearly six hundred works by Spanish authors printed in Antwerp in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Van Rossem 14), Las Casas's posture of critique was welcome reading in Protestant Germany as well.

The *Brevísima*, from Sevilla to Frankfurt

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Bartolomé de Las Casas witnessed the abuses of power committed by cruel and avaricious Spaniards in the Americas against the rights and persons of the indigenous inhabitants. He undertook to advise the Spanish monarchy that their new American subjects were being exploited. Along with the recognition of the indigenous peoples' humanity came the obligation to convert them to Christianity and to integrate them as subjects, not slaves, under Spanish authority. To do this work, Las Casas penned several treatises which were hastily printed in Sevilla in 1552 and 1553, among them, the *Brevísima relación*. As Boyer explains, “a *relación*, [is] a first-hand account that would act as a legal deposition before the Crown's ultimate authority. [...] The *relaciones* were formal in tone and constituted official reports of specific events” (368). This text is “very brief” in comparison to the discourse Las Casas delivered orally before the court (Las Casas, *Brevísima* a1v) and printed so that one “la leyese con mas facilidad” (a2r).¹⁰⁰ Before Felipe ascended the throne, he was the intended

¹⁰⁰ Quotes from the Spanish *Brevísima* (Sevilla, 1552) come from the witness I examined in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, shelfmark Res 1664-8°.

recipient and dedicatee of the *Brevísima*, having been placed in charge of issues related to the so-called *Indias* by his father. The *Brevísima* begins with an “Argumento del presente epítome” (a1v-a2r) and the “Prológo del obispo don fray Bartolomé de Las Casas o Casaus [...]” (a2v-a3v) in which Las Casas explains the purpose of compiling and printing the accounts of destruction and violence. He appeals to the future Felipe II that he intercede and restore justice, having been made aware of the circumstances: “Porque dela innata y natural virtud del rey assi se suppone (conuiene a saber) que la noticia sola del mal de su reyno es bastantissima para que lo dissipe” (a34). Organized geographically, the main text of the *Brevísima* denounces Spanish cruelty and barbarism, using the motif of eye-witness accounts to stage repeated performances of atrocities committed against the indigenous peoples. Las Casas expresses the hope that the account will prick the prince’s conscience and persuade him to become an ally and mediator to his father the emperor in favor of halting the violence and destruction in the Americas. After the accounts of persecution of the indigenous peoples in the “Indias,” there follows an anonymous letter fragment that seconds Las Casas’s claims.

Sebastián Trujillo’s printing house in Sevilla printed the first edition of the *Brevísima* in 1552, according to the colophon in the extant witnesses to the *princeps*. Trujillo was active in Sevilla between 1542 and 1569, his business activity roughly corresponding to that of Jácome Cromberger in the 1540s and 1550s (Delgado Casado 682). Trujillo received some printing materials from Jácome Cromberger at the waning of the Cromberger business (683). From 1545, Jácome Cromberger assumed full responsibility for his grandfather Jacobo Cromberger’s press, following his father, Juan, and his mother, Brígida Maldonado (Griffin, *Crombergers* 100-01). During this time, the Crombergers’ press lost prestige, productivity, and quality (*Crombergers* 103). Jácome’s business acumen did not equal his predecessors’ and Griffin notes that he largely

ceased taking risks on printing first editions, preferring to reedit imprints that had been well-received (*Crombergers* 105). As noted above, Las Casas did not seek official sanction from the Consejo de Indias for the eight texts he had printed in Sevilla in 1552 and 1553 (López de Abadía 237). It may be for this reason, combined with the “extraordinary conservatism” of his press, that Jácome Cromberger avoided working with Las Casas (Griffin, *Crombergers* 105), leaving Trujillo hurriedly to print the *Brevísima* alongside six other texts by Las Casas and under his supervision between August of 1552 and January of 1553.¹⁰¹ Jácome merely produced a single edition of Las Casas’s *Entre los remedios*, also called the *Octavo remedio*, in August of 1552, one month prior to Trujillo’s printing of the *Brevísima* (*Crombergers* 109).

The texts that Las Casas had printed in Sevilla in the early 1550s only briefly preceded Felipe II’s *instrucción* of 1556. This order restricted the printing and selling of any books pertaining to the Americas that the Council of the Indies had not approved (Kagan 160).¹⁰² His proclamation might even have been issued in response to Las Casas’s “furioso programa de publicaciones” of his treatises in Sevilla in 1552 and 1553 (Hanke and Giménez Fernández 148). Such an eventuality was hardly unexpected, since the content of Las Casas’s writings was compounded by their hasty publication “sin la autorización correspondiente” (Durán Luzio, “El asombro” 81). Royal decrees from Felipe II in 1571 and 1579 ordered the confiscation of Las Casas’s manuscript writings and restricted access to them without special permission (Peña Díaz, *Escribir* 168-69). The *Brevísima*’s eventual prohibition took place after a resurgence in printed

¹⁰¹ The other six texts Trujillo printed were: *Aquí se contiene una disputa o controversia entre el obispo don Bartolomé de las Casas y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda* (10 September 1552); *Este es vn tratado quel obispo dela ciudad Real de Chiapa don fray Bartholome de las Casas/o Casaus compuso/ por comission del Consejo Real delas Indias: sobre la materia de los yndios quese han hecho en ellas esclauos* (12 September 1552); *Aquí se contienen unos avisos y reglas para los confesores* (20 September 1552); *Principia quedam ex quibus procedendum est in disputatione ad manifestandam et defendendam iusticiam Yndorum* (1552?); *Aquí se contienen treinta proposiciones muy juridicas* (1552); and *Tratado comprobatorio del Imperio soberano que los Reyes de Castilla y León tienen sobre las Indias* (January 1553) (Boyer 365; 378 n. 1).

¹⁰² The decree was renewed six times between its initial proclamation and 1682 (Peña Díaz, *Escribir* 170 n. 302).

editions –Antonio Lacavallería’s (Barcelona, 1646) and another edition (Valencia, 1652)– was brought to the attention of Inquisition officials (Beck 513-14). These versions of the *Brevísima*, along with other materials critical of Castilla, were printed during the Catalan Revolt between 1640 and 1652 (Peña Díaz, *Escribir* 172-73), continuing the sixteenth-century practice of printing the *Brevísima* in areas resistant to Castilian sovereignty.

An unnamed censor who penned a judgment of the *Brevísima* in 1658 explained the delay in attending to such an incendiary piece: “Y no es nuevo en Roma y en España prohibir libros que en otro tiempo fueron útiles y permitidos si después abusan de ellos los herejes o se conocen otros inconvenientes” (qtd. in Peña Díaz, *Escribir* 175). Francisco Minguijón, who wrote an additional condemnation of the *Brevísima* in 1659 for the tribunal in Zaragoza, stressed that the misuse of the *Brevísima* by printers and readers in other countries, to the detriment of Spain’s reputation abroad, was reason enough to suppress the text (qtd. in *Escribir* 177). A ban specific to the *Brevísima* was issued on 3 June 1660, when the Inquisition authorities in Zaragoza gave notice to Madrid that they had determined Las Casas’s text should be prohibited on account of its containing “cosas muy terribles y fieras de los soldados españoles, que, aunque fueran verdad, bastaba representarlas al Rey o a sus Ministros, y no publicarlas, pues de ahí los extranjeros toman argumento para llamar a los españoles crueles y fieros” (Paz y Mélia no. 424). De Bry’s imprints, also guilty of promulgating a negative image of Spain, faced seventeenth-century censorship as well.¹⁰³ Although these concerns spurred Spanish authorities to impede the

¹⁰³ The volumes of the *Americas* series that De Bry supervised made appearances on Spanish *Indices* in the seventeenth century. The *Index* in Madrid in 1612 “banned the first [*Americas*] volume [1590] and its 28 illustrations [...] in all languages” (Beck 504). The second volume (1591) with illustrations was banned in Latin but allowed in German with same illustrations (504). The third (1592) and fourth (1594) volumes with illustrations were banned in Latin and German (504). The fifth illustrated volume was permitted in Latin and in German with some text expurgated (505). The *Brevísima* did not appear on an *Index* until the eighteenth century, on the *Index librorum prohibitorum ac expurgandorum* (1747) and the *Índice último de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar* (1790) (Peña Díaz, *Escribir* 179 n. 311).

Brevísima's continued publication and dissemination in Spain, their efforts did nothing to prohibit its translation and distribution elsewhere in Europe (Beck 503), an endeavor that began twenty-six years after Trujillo's *princeps* in 1552.

At least twelve editions of the *Brevísima* were printed in languages other than Spanish in the sixteenth century: three in Dutch (1578, 1579, 1596), five in French (1579, two in 1582, 1594, 1597), one in English (1583), two in German (1597, 1599), and one in Latin (1598) (Durán Luzio, "El asombro" 81-82). The first translation was made directly from the Spanish into Dutch and was printed in 1578; the place of printing, though unlisted, was probably Antwerp or Brussels (Hanke and Giménez no. 473). Despite some expected variations from the Spanish original, the Dutch translation follows Las Casas's text closely (López de Abadía 237). It also resembles the *princeps* in its lack of illustrations. Jacques Miggrode made the first French translation, again working from the Spanish original (Durán Luzio, "El asombro" 82). Frans van Ravelingen, Christopher Plantin's son-in-law, printed it, without illustrations, in Antwerp in 1579 (Beck 510). According to Miggrode's supplementary note appended to his translation, he had been working on a Dutch version when the 1578 translation anticipated him, so he started translating into French instead (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 142).¹⁰⁴

Miggrode was the first translator to add material to the *Brevísima*: a prologue, a sonnet, and an epilogue. Miggrode made no secret in his prefatory "Au lecteur" of his dislike of Spain as a nation, though this prejudice did not necessarily extend to each of its citizens: "Je confesse n'auoir iamais gueres aimé la nation [d'Espagne] en generale, à cause de leur orgueil insupportable; combien que ie ne laisse de louër & aimer aulcuns excellens personnages qu'il y a

¹⁰⁴ Quotes from the French translation of the *Brevísima* come from the witness to the French language edition (Antwerp, 1579) in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, shelfmark RES 8-OL-485, digitized on Gallica.

entre eux” (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* *2r-*2v).¹⁰⁵ Miggrode does insist, however, that his translating of a text written by a Spaniard attests to the translator’s impartiality: “Mais Dieu sçait que la haine ne me fait escrire ces choses, veu mesmes que l’auteur de ce liure que estoit Espagnol de nation” (*Tyrannies* *2v). Nevertheless, he writes to warn his compatriots of the harm Spaniards can inflict, so readers may see “depeint comme en vn tableau que sera leur estat quant par leurs nonchallance, querelles, diuisions & partialitez ils auront ouuert la porte à vn tel ennemy” (*Tyrannies* *2v). Miggrode also splits his readers from the “tyrannical” and “cruel” Spaniards along religious lines: Spain’s only right to the Indies was that “le Pape leur auot donné ledict pais,” which in itself is a dubious allocation, given the source (*Tyrannies* *4v). In a similar admonitory vein, Miggrode chose as his subtitle: “Pour servir d’exemple et advertissement aux XVII Provinces du pays bas,” a sentiment that the sonnet echoes in its final four verses:

Hereux celuy qui sagement contemple
 Les maux d’autry par prudence meurie,
 Por s’en seruir de miroir, & exemple,
 Qu’il ne se laisse a la fin deceuoir. (*8v)

Since Las Casas’s writings about the Americas originated, as with the *Historia de las Indias*, with the desire to redirect the moral compass of his own homeland, to move then-prince Felipe’s –and, consequently, the king’s– conscience in favor of the indigenous inhabitants of colonized lands (Arias 164), it is unsurprising that the *Brevísima* should be appropriated in translation to put a new group of readers on guard against bad governance.

De Bry titled his edition *Narratio regionum indicarum per hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima* [*The Most True Account of the Indian Regions Destroyed by Certain*

¹⁰⁵ While the body of Miggrode’s translation is paginated, the introductory materials such as “Au lecteur” have signatures with an asterisk and a number.

Spaniards]. The version in Latin introduces a few significant changes from the original Spanish's and the French translation's titles.¹⁰⁶ The title in Latin opts for the adjective "Most True" (*Verissima*) in place of "Very Brief" (*Brevissima*) or the adverb "Briefly" (*Brievement*), alluding not to the rapidity of the text's composition, nor to its speedy treatment of the topic, but rather to the authority of the information to follow. Moreover, De Bry adjusts the way of identifying the destruction. The Spanish title focuses on the space that has been destroyed (*de las Indias*). The French title accentuates the Spaniards, whose "tyrannies et cruautéz" caused such damage. De Bry combines these strategies, taking advantage of Latin's flexible word order to sandwich "per hispanos quosdam" amid the words identifying the devastated lands (*Regionum indicarum [...] devastatarum*).¹⁰⁷ The reference to "hispanos" ruptures the words describing the Americas. Its placement in the center of the broken phrase verbally associates "hispanos" with the Indian regions' destruction. This titular attack directed at the Spanish, which does not occur in Las Casas's title despite his expressing that perspective in his narrative, suggests that De Bry intended to emphasize the Spanish colonizers' guilt.

The subtitle, "prius quidem per Episcopum Bartholemaeum Casaum, natione Hispanum Hispanice conscripta, & Anno 1551. Hispali, Hispanice, Anno vero hoc 1598. Latina excusa," indicates De Bry's awareness that the Spanish *princeps* was printed in Sevilla ("Hispali"), although the actual year of publication was 1552. Perhaps the mistaken date indicates that De Bry had heard of, but did not own a copy of Trujillo's edition. To the Latin translation, he and his sons, Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel, added a cover illustration as well as a series of seventeen

¹⁰⁶ The full title is *Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols, perpetrees és Indes Occidentales, qu'on dit Le Nouveau Monde ; Brièvement descrites en langue Castillane par Dom Frere Barthelemy de Las Casas ou Casaus, Espagnol, de l'ordre de S. Dominique ; fidèlement traduites par Iaques de Migrode pour servir d'exemple & aduertissement aux XVII Provinces du país bas.*

¹⁰⁷ Owen Toepfer generously brought this to my attention.

different engravings designed by the Flemish painter Joos Van Winghe. The engravings hyperbolically depict the destruction of the Americas and their inhabitants that Las Casas described.¹⁰⁸

Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel de Bry, authors of the *Narratio verissima*'s introductory material, are quick to insist, like Miggrode, that they hold no grudge against the Spanish nation: “nos in nullius gentis vel nationis odium aut fauorem ex priuato aliquo affectu hoc opus edere [we edit this work out of no private feeling in hate or favor of any people or nation]” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v).¹⁰⁹ All nations, the De Brys explain, have both “good men” and “bad men” (“Bonos enim & malos homines in quavis gente & regione esse” [Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v]), even though the bad outnumber the good: “quanquam bonos mali numero semper superant” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v).¹¹⁰ Rather, the De Bry sons condemn the sin of avarice that can affect “malos homines” of any nation and encourage readers not only to learn to hate the greed of the Spaniards, but also to examine themselves and to uproot greed from their own hearts as they read (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v). They intend that contemplating the engravings will contribute to this noble end (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v).

As they translated, both Miggrode and De Bry changed Las Casas's word of general reference, “cristianos,” to “Espagnols” or “Hispani.” Certain other choices on the translators' parts make it improbable that this alteration was enacted to distance Catholic Christians' cruelty from Protestant Christians' innocence or victimization. In both the French and Latin translations of the chapter on Venezuela, for instance, Miggrode and De Bry directly translate the

¹⁰⁸ One may clearly distinguish Van Winghe's name on the engravings on folios 10, 12, 17, and 59 of the De Bry *Narratio verissima* (Frankfurt, 1598).

¹⁰⁹ Latin to English translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. I appreciate the time and generosity of Anna Mayersohn, who oriented and advised me with Latin translations. Any errors that remain are my own.

¹¹⁰ Quotes from the De Bry Latin edition (Frankfurt, 1598) come from the digital facsimile of the witness housed in the Library of Congress, shelfmark Jefferson LJ239.

Brevísima's attribution of incomparable cruelty to the "mercaderes de Alemaña" (Las Casas, *Brevísima* e3v); ("à des marchans Allemans" [Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 92]; "mercatoribus Germanis" [Las Casas, *Narratio* 75]). Although they could have eliminated the tyrant's country of origin, thus enabling readers to assume a Spanish Catholic background, the translators also follow Las Casas in identifying the governor as German: "Le tyran Alleman gouverneur" (*Tyrannies* 95); "Germanus gubernator tyrannus" (*Narratio* 77). Additionally, they reproduce Las Casas's parenthetical accusation of Lutheranism to this German despot: "car il n'oyoit point de Messe, & ne la laissa point ouir à beaucoup d'autres, avec d'autres marques de Lutherien que furent cognus" (*Tyrannies* 95); "nam nec vnquam aderat Missae, nec alijs adesse permittebat, cum multis Lutheranismi euidentijs signis" (*Narratio* 77). In another passage, in which the indigenous community leader Hatuey is burned at the stake for fleeing the advancing Spanish, Las Casas relates how a Franciscan friar "deziale vn religioso de sant francisco: sancto varon que alli estaua/ algunas cosas de Dios y de *nuestra* fee" (*Brevísima* b3v, emphasis added). Miggrode and De Bry maintain the possessive pronoun "our": "luy dit quelques choses de Dieu, & de *nostre* foy" (*Tyrannies* 27, emphasis added); "ipsi aliqua de Deo, & *nostrae* fidei [...] verba fecit [he spoke some words to him about God and of *our* faith]" (*Narratio* 23, emphasis added). If Miggrode or De Bry had wanted to shield Protestants from guilt by association with the Spanish Catholics, surely they could have modified or excised these passages in their translation that make Germans (and possibly Protestant Germans) complicit in the colonial violence, or used a possessive pronoun that did not implicate the narrative voice and the reader in the faith of the Spanish Catholics ("their" faith, instead of "our" faith).

Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel de Bry, on folios 2r-2v, dedicate the edition to Frederick IV (1574-1610), Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was a known protector of Protestants. There

follows a “Praefatio ad lectorem” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 3r-4v). The dedication and the preface are unique to the Latin translation. Then begin the contents of the translation proper: the “Compendiosae huius narrationis argumentum [“Argumento del presente epítome]” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 1); the “Prologus [Prólogo]” (*Narratio* 2-4); the “Indiarum devastationis, et excidii brevissima narratio [Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias]” (*Narratio* 5-104); and the letter fragment (*Narratio* 104-12).¹¹¹ These are the contents of the *Brevísima* as Sebastián Trujillo printed it in 1552. The French translation, as Miggrode outlines in his concluding comments (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 142-44), includes a few other materials by Las Casas and Ginés de Sepúlveda found in the Dutch translation. The *Narratio verissima* excludes Miggrode’s concluding notes, but retains the *Tyrannies*’s supplementary materials translated into Latin: extracts from “Inter ea remedia” (*Entre los remedios* or *Octavo remedio*) (Las Casas, *Narratio* 113-29) which denounces the *encomienda* system and other texts from the debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda.¹¹²

Despite his knowledge of the Iberian edition’s existence, De Bry edited Las Casas’s *Brevísima* from the French language edition (Antwerp, 1579) (Rabasa 235; Durán Luzio, “El asombro” 84). De Bry’s use of Miggrode’s French version for his Latin translation aligns the *Narratio verissima* with other German or Latin translations of Spanish texts that arrived in Germany by way of French and Italian translations (Briesemeister 118-19).¹¹³ The source

¹¹¹ I have included the Spanish titles in brackets to point to the continuity between the two texts.

¹¹² *Entre los remedios* was the only one of Las Casas’s imprints from Sevilla in 1552 and 1553 that Jácome Cromberger printed rather than Sebastián Trujillo. The other included texts are: “Protestationis dicti episcopi & auctoris Apographum” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 129-30); “Prologus episcopi Bartholomaei de las Casas [...] ad Potentissimum Dominum Philippum” (*Narratio* 130-34); “Summa disputationis inter fratrem Bartholomaeum de las Casas vel Casam Episcopum, & Doctorem Sepulvedam habitae” (*Narratio* 134-37); “Prologus Doctoris Sepulvedae ad Dominos congregatos” (*Narratio* 137-38); “Prologus Episcopi Chiapensis ad Dominos congregatos” (*Narratio* 138-40); “Vndecimae replicationis Apographum” (*Narratio* 140-41); “In duodecima & vltima replicatione haec verba continentur” (*Narratio* 141).

¹¹³ The German translation of *Amadís de Gaula* was made from Nicolas de Herberay’s French translation (Briesemeister 102).

material for De Bry is of interest because, unlike Nicolas de Herberay's version of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* that both translates and adapts the Spanish original, both the French and the Latin translations are very near the Spanish source text, with the only words regularly diverging from Las Casas's text being the general substitution of "cristianos" for "Espagnols" or "Hispani." The De Bry printers do not specify whether they employed the Spanish original or another translation for their Latin version as Miggrode does in his translator's note at the end of the French translation (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 142-44).¹¹⁴ My comparisons of the three versions (Spanish, French, and Latin) corroborate the assumption that De Bry translated the French version. There are occasional discrepancies in word order in the French translation that are mirrored in the Latin. One such instance appears in the section "La tierra firme." Las Casas introduces antagonists, the governor and his captain, and an eye witness to the violence, a Franciscan friar:

Este gouernador et su gente ynvento nueuas maneras de crueldades y de dar tormentos a los yndios: por que descubriessen y les diessen oro. Capitan vuo suyo que en vna entrada que hizo por mandado del: para robar y extirpar gentes/ mato sobre quarenta mil animas: que vido por sus ojos vn religioso de sant francisco/ que con el yua que se llamaua fray francisco de sant roman/ metiendolos a espada: quemandolos biuos: y echandolos a perros brauos: y atormentandolos con diuersos tormentos. (*Brevísima* b4v)

¹¹⁴ In fact, Miggrode notes that he was in the process of translating the first Dutch translation when "[v]oicy venir en mes mains le mesme traicté en langue Brabançonne" (142). From this, we may infer that Miggrode translated from the Spanish text, since no other options were available prior to the first Dutch translation. A further indication comes later when Miggrode affirms that he translated the supplementary materials after the *Brevísima* text "aussi sus l'original Espagnol" (143, emphasis added). The "aussi" implies the *Brevísima* had previously been translated from the Spanish original.

Miggrode places the identifying information of the eye witness at the end of the paragraph, following the torments that the indigenous peoples of the American continent suffered:

Ce gouverneur avec ses gens trouuerent nouuelles fortes de cruautés & tormens por faire descouuir & donner d'lor. Il y eut vn sien Capitaine, lequel tua en vne entrée & course qui fut faicte par son commandement por desrobber & extirper des gens plus de quarante mille ames, les mettant au fil de d'espee, les bruslant & les donnant aux chiens, & les tormentant diuersement: ce que vn religieux de Sanct François qui alloit avec luy, vit de ses propres yeux, & auoit nom frere Franç de Sanct Roman. (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 30-31)

The Latin imitates the word order of the French translation:

Hic Praeses, cum suis, noua tormentorum, & crudelitatum genera, ad obtinendum, & extorquendum aurum adinuenerat. Quidam ex illius Capitaneis, in quadam excursione gubernatoris iussu ad depraedandum facta, vltra quadraginta millia personarum ensibus, igni, canibus, diuersisque tormentorum generibus, expositarum, morte deleuit. Quorum omninum, Ordinis Franciscanorum religiosus, nomine Franciscus de S. Romano, qui aderat, testis erit oculatus.

[This ruler, with his own men, invented new means of torments and cruelties to obtain and extort gold. One of those captains, by order of the governor, in a certain attack done to pillage, destroyed over forty thousand people exposed to death by the sword, by fire, by dogs, and by many sorts of torments. Of all these things, a monk of the Franciscan order, Francisco of San Román by name, who was present, is an eye witness.] (Las Casas, *Narratio* 26)

Another indicator of the source text for the Latin translation is the title of the section “Del Río de la Plata.” Miggrode translates the name of the river in his French title: “De la Riviere de la Plata, c’est a dire de l’argent.” De Bry opts for “De Flumine Platae, hoc est, argenti,” giving a Latinized version of the Spanish name (Flumine Platae) and using “hoc est,” an expression that literally replicates Miggrode’s “c’est a dire.” Had De Bry worked only from the Spanish title, he might have employed a more Latinate phrase such as “vocatur” or “nomine.” A final correlation between the French translation and the Latin translation are the “Entre les remedes” or “Inter ea remedia” sections. The translators included these after the *Brevísima*, but Trujillo published them separately.¹¹⁵ De Bry’s choice of Miggrode’s French translation as his source text was likely based on ease of access, considering the prohibition of the *Brevísima* in Spain (Conley 105). Although Miggrode states that he made his translation directly from the original Spanish, Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel de Bry skirt the issue in their introductory materials and prefer to focus on the novelty of their Latin edition with its engravings.

In the early modern period, translating vernacular works into Latin, a sort of “international” language, increased texts’ readership throughout Europe (Wilkinson, “Vernacular” 20; Grant 120; Duviols, “Theodore” 13). Conley understands the Latin as a tool to augment the authority of the presentation of the events Las Casas related (108), just as the images’ realism contributes to the construction of an eye-witness-type account. The De Bry sons echo this sentiment in their “Ad lectorem” section: “vt quilibet, ex quacumque; natione & gente is fuerit, in hoc libro tanquam in Speculo contemplati queat, quam tetros, horrendos & perniciosos fructus [so that anyone, from wherever, be he of any nation and people, in this book just as in a mirror he may be able to contemplate the very many shocking, horrifying and wicked

¹¹⁵ De Bry does not include the translator’s note that precedes “Entre les remedes” in the French Antwerp edition in which Miggrode explains his inclusion of other materials by Las Casas.

deeds]” (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4r). The comparative status of Latin and vernacular languages in Europe at this time appears to justify the idea of Latin providing a wider dissemination; as Monreal Pérez explains, the educated classes of Europe tended toward bilingualism, with the local vernacular language being supplemented by Latin, “como lengua ilustrada y de comunicación internacional” to “transmitir los conocimientos a escala europea” (198). Given the weight humanists placed upon accessing classical texts in the original languages, Latin and Greek studies formed a key part of university curricula in Germany during the sixteenth century (Monreal Pérez 196-98). Conley proffers a related explanation for the choice of Latin: “Latin lends a greater aura of ‘truth’ to the document by the presence of its iconic authority” (108). The “iconic authority” to which Conley refers may be that of classical Roman authors much admired by humanist scholars or the authority of writings produced by and for the Catholic Church.

When contextualizing the *Narratio verissima* translation, we should recall the purposes for which Latin was employed in the sixteenth century. Whereas other European languages had supplanted Latin for quotidian activities and transactions, it remained the *lingua franca* in both religious and secular elite, educated environments. It had been and continued to be the language of the Catholic Church, of liturgy, and authoritative Catholic writing. At the same time, humanists such as Erasmus and Martin Luther promoted the retention of Latin for learned, secular writing and instructional environments. Texts in Latin, then, were accessible to elite readers within Catholic and Protestant traditions and could even have been preferable to texts in vernacular languages in certain academic or religious contexts. To preserve continuity of interpretation, for example, the inquisitor general Gaspar de Quiroga’s *Index* (1583-1584)

prohibited the publication of Scripture and certain books of hours and devotional books in vernacular languages (Alcalá 81).¹¹⁶

Considering the availability of Dutch, French, English, and German translations of the *Brevísima*, it seems unlikely that those who did not read Latin would invest the De Brys' luxury illustrated edition unless they simply desired the novelty of the woodcuts or the prestige of possessing so fine a volume. Conley proposes that the images act as a hermeneutical aid so that readers "not versed in Latin have access to the contents by way of the image" (108). However, if readers' primary aim were to gain access to an illegible text through images, the small differences that exist between Las Casas's text and the engravings (Beck 503) reduce the illustrations' precision as mediators. The De Bry sons do not express concern for the prestige or wider dissemination that Latin might provide their edition. Instead, they cite a commercial motive for rendering the *Brevísima* in Latin. Because it had already been issued in Spanish, Dutch, French, English, and German, "hoc opus in Latinum sermonem vertendum & publicandun censuimus [we judged this work should be translated and published in the Latin language]" (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v). The De Bry sons emphasize that they are the first to edit the work in Latin: "quem iam primum Latine edimus" (*Narratio* 3r). The business of selling books by noticing and filling a gap in the market, then, should be balanced with potential ideological motivations that might also have influenced printers' editorial choices.

The most significant difference the De Bry edition exhibits compared with the *princeps* and with other sixteenth-century translations of the *Brevísima* is not textual, but visual: the addition of engravings to the Latin translation. The only sixteenth-century illustrated version of

¹¹⁶ Humanist scholars, such as Fray Luis de León, objected to the Inquisition's curtailing the availability of religious texts' in vernacular languages. The Augustinian friar's manuscript translation and gloss in Spanish of the *Song of Songs* led to his being processed by the Inquisition and held in prison in 1572, though he was absolved and released in 1576 (Márquez 104-05).

the *Brevísima* other than Theodor de Bry's German and Latin translations is a manuscript with watercolor illustrations. The text is based on Miggrode's French translation and this manuscript is now housed in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan.¹¹⁷ The manuscript includes a colophon that imitates those of Guillaume Julien's printed editions (Paris, 1582): "Par Guillaume Iulien, à l'enseigne de l'Amitié, pres le college de Cambray. L'an M.D.LXXXII Auec Privilege de Roy" (qtd. in Duviols, "Théodore" 14). Henry N. Stevens, the agent through whom William L. Clements acquired the manuscript, states the manuscript's date as 1582 and its lack of correspondence with the edition printed by Julien in Paris in 1582, not least because the latter is unillustrated (Stevens, qtd. in Clements 1). Stevens does consider it possible that it "is the original MSS for an *intended* French edition illustrated with plates" (qtd. in Clements 1, emphasis original). Some scholars, such as Duviols ("Théodore" 14-15), Rabasa (235), or Keazor (149 n. 65), alternately entertain and discard these observations. The handwritten date of 1582 and the similarity between the watercolors and De Bry's engravings may indicate that the illustrated manuscript predates De Bry's imprints. In this case, Joos Van Winghe would have used the watercolors as a model for his own illustrations, which De Bry then employed to execute his engravings.¹¹⁸

These data do not, however, satisfactorily demonstrate how Van Winghe learned of and gained access to a single Parisian manuscript on which to base his *Narratio verissima* designs. Van Winghe did spend time in Paris between 1564 and 1568 (Judson 37), but this would have been before the French translation was completed and, therefore, before the manuscript was started. From 1568, Van Winghe settled in Brussels as court painter, then moved in Frankfurt in

¹¹⁷ The manuscript is catalogued under shelfmark Manuscripts M-07.

¹¹⁸ "The Title Border and the 17 Plates in the MS correspond to the title Border and the 17 Plates in the 'Narratio', and they are arranged in the same sequence" (Stevens, qtd. in Clements 1).

1585 (Judson 37). Additionally, inaccurate dates are commonly found in colophons and title pages of manuscripts and printed books, whether due to carelessness, thriftiness, or to a desire to mislead regarding the actual place and date of production. The handwritten note's imitation of a printed book's colophon could indicate that the manuscript was intended as a (very) detailed model for an illustrated French print edition. Conversely, it could suggest that the writer was copying an already-existing printed model and not genuinely providing a date and place of production for the manuscript or projected print edition. The "Auec Privilege du Roy" is especially telling; a manuscript would not require special privilege.

I am inclined to the position that the engravings in the *Narratio verissima* preceded the watercolors in the manuscript. The engravings in the *Narratio verissima* resemble those employed in the *Americas* series and correspond to the style of De Bry's output in general. The idea that a manuscript must precede a printed version may prove a false assumption. Sixteenth-century print culture moves beyond the model of a requisite manuscript tradition that precedes an edition of printed books. Multiple and multi-modal influences were at play in the creative work of printers and engravers like De Bry and artists like Van Winghe: classical and biblical imagery, printed martyr illustrations, depictions of capital punishment, and even, as this chapter argues, Catholic devotional books' Passion iconography united to inspire the visual program of the *Narratio verissima*.

Images of Devotion

As Chapters Two and Three have demonstrated, the influence and imitation of early printed devotional books could span genres as well as countries through material intertextuality. The case of the *Narratio verissima* illustrates how material intertexts linked printed books across language and literary genre. It is an example of a sixteenth-century non-devotional imprint

whose material intertexts evoke late medieval devotional books such as those studied in previous chapters of the dissertation: *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*. This study of De Bry's engravings suggests the *Narratio verissima*'s visual program parallels those of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Iberian Catholic devotional books that invited readers to meditate on printed images of Christ's passion. The *Narratio verissima* shares the use of violent imagery to trigger responses of compassion and pity in readers with *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*. When Las Casas constructed his appeal on behalf of the newly designated indigenous subjects of the Crown, he did so by aligning the victims of colonial violence to an already-existing European understanding of saints' and martyrs' unjustified yet redemptive suffering. Yet, De Bry's application of this Passion-related imagery to American indigenous bodies with the purported aim of freeing them from oppression is troublesome. Although Las Casas's words, translated into Latin, frame a critique of colonizers' abuse of indigenous peoples, De Bry's aesthetic choice to express the latter's pain in terms of European Catholic iconography participates in the subjugation and objectification of those represented.

Even with a Latin translation's humanist applications, the language would have retained its associations with the Catholic Church, particularly for converts who had had previous experience with Catholic liturgy and writings. The De Bry sons' description of their project pushes readers' interpretations of the *Narratio verissima* toward its religious connotations. In the introduction, Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel do not employ "imago" to refer to the illustrations they inserted, but instead choose "icon": "etiam latinitati donaremus, et *Iconibus* artificiosis, illustrare conaremur, [that we should give this present small work in pure Latin style, and we should try to illustrate it with skillful *images*]" (Las Casas, *Narratio* 2r, emphasis added). "Icon" may be understood as a synonym of "image" or, more notably in the context of this chapter, as a

derivative of the Greek *eikōn* (“likeness”) “believed to facilitate contact between the devotee and the sacred personage to whom his prayers are directed” (Osborne 533). The historic connotations of icons in the Eastern Church and their later adoption in the Western Church underlie the word choice the De Brys used to describe their engravings. The printers invite their readers to view the illustrations as though they were contemplating religious icons that could offer a connection with the divine through the figures portrayed. This reference, in combination with a Latin translation that was unnecessary given the prevalent existing translations into vernacular languages, suggests that the Latin had uses beyond broadening the De Bry edition’s readership. Latin acts as a material intertext that aligns the *Narratio verissima* with earlier Catholic writings as well as Catholic liturgy: linguistically comprehensible to a select group of readers and hearers, visually accessible through the contemplation of images.

A return to a medieval model with language comprehensible to a limited, erudite circle of readers and images serving to “translate” the Latin for speakers of vernacular languages, as Conley proposes (125), constitutes a return to a technique whose efficacy the Church had proven for centuries. According to Freedberg, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas both offered the tripartite defenses of the Church’s recourse to images in their commentaries on the third of the *Libri Quatuor Sententiarum* by Peter Lombard: the Church uses images for the edification of those who cannot read, as a memory aid for religious truths, and as a more effective stimulus of emotional response than aural input (Freedberg 162-63). Jean-Theodor and Jean-Israel de Bry partially coincide with two of these purposes in their “Praefatio ad lectorem” when they explain the engravings intended use of reminding readers to remove greed from their own hearts and stimulating them to greater attention (Las Casas, *Narratio* 2r). Perhaps it is not that the images function interdependently with the Latin to assist readers better understand a lesser or unfamiliar

language. Rather, the use of a non-vernacular language creates an inaccessible text for those who didn't read Latin and, thereby, a total dependence on the representative power of the engravings. Despite the prevalent acceptance of Gregory the Great's dichotomy, Camille reminds us that literacy was, and is, more of a continuum, including "[t]he fully literate," "[t]he individual who must rely on the literacy of another for access to written transmission," and "[t]he illiterate without means or needs of such reliance" ("Seeing" 32). Given this flexibility in categories of literacy, Freedberg allows that rationalizing Christian images in terms of their utility to those without access to the written word is "patronizing" and "inconsistent," especially because images' power and attraction hold true for the literate as well (399).

The De Bry printers clearly had in mind a readership to whom they could address a legible translation in Latin and repeatedly note the images' usefulness to readers. They have specifically been requested, as they indicate, to translate Las Casas's denunciation of violence into Latin and to include illustrations (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v). As Aquinas's and Bonaventure's writings about images demonstrate, illustrations' value pertained as much to readers as to non-readers, particularly due to their capacity to aid memory and awaken emotions. As Rivera explains, images did more than simply accommodate deficiencies of literacy, Latin or otherwise; they also served to enhance readers' religious experiences: "In many religious texts of the period [late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries], pictorial content frequently functioned as a guide for the reader/spectator who sought to enrich his or her spiritual life" ("Visualizing" 69). Although neither the *Brevísima* nor the *Narratio verissima* is a devotional book, the author and translators made repeated appeals to readers' spirituality, fully confident that they would interpret the contents in religious as well as socio-political terms. The risk as well as the efficacy of images arise as a result of "the fusion of image and prototype," with the prototype understood as the

object or person represented (Freedberg 402). Assuming the engravings' interpretive influence in conjunction with and independent of the text, the remainder of this chapter dedicates itself to their analysis through the paradigm of the salvific potential of visualizing violence.

Images of Destruction

Despite the De Bry sons' assertion that "sine quibus hoc opus quodammodo imperfectum esse videtur [without which (images) this work seems to be, in a certain manner, unfinished]" (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v), no previous printer's edition of the *Brevísma* included illustrations. Accordingly, they comply with a request reported in the "Ad lectorem" that they illustrate their Latin translation (Las Casas, *Narratio* 4v). They indicate that images would serve "ut totus tractatus redderetur luculentior et nitidior [so that the whole treatise might be rendered brighter and more handsome]" (*Narratio* 2r) and "ac lectorem beneuolum ad attentionem maiorem inuitatum extimularet [might stimulate the benevolent reader invited to greater attentiveness]" (*Narratio* 2r). The images would also enable that "in rem praesentem adduci queat [he may be able to be persuaded in the present matter]" (*Narratio* 4v). They would please the reader, giving "honestam voluptatem [honorable pleasure]" (*Narratio* 4v) as well as support understanding "non mediocre historiae intelligendae adiumentum [a not indifferent support to readers for understanding of the story]" (*Narratio* 4v). The De Bry sons manifest the dexterity and realism with which they produced the engravings: "Eas autem huic editioni adiecimus ita diligenter & artificiose elaboratas, & ad viuum effictas [Therefore we added them (the images) made so carefully and skillfully and fashioned in a lifelike way]" (*Narratio* 4v). The legacy of imitation and recycling in subsequent European editions that followed the initial printing of the De Bry engravings rewarded their efforts and solidified their hypothesis that Las Casas's account lent itself particularly well to illustration.

José Rabasa, speaking of the watercolors of the manuscript labelled Paris 1582, comments that the images do not try to illustrate faithfully Las Casas's text, but instead represent allegorically an image that "feels right" to readers (236). This logic should be extended to include the engravings, which either the watercolor artist copied or the Joos Van Winghe copied for the engraving designs. The images sought to represent a degree of Spanish cruelty that readers of the illustrated volumes expected to see, rather than to replicate Las Casas's exact textual representations of the Spaniards, unflattering as those were. Powell signals the key role of De Bry's engravings to the anti-Catholic agenda of the *Narratio verissima* not only in 1598, but also in its subsequent print tradition, as versions of some or all the engravings reappear in later editions of the *Brevísima* (80). Of course, De Bry also employed engravings across projects in his own printing house; these seventeen engravings, in particular, also appear in volumes from the *Americas* series (Beck 507). Beck calls this "intervisuality" or "intervisual interpretation:" "Intervisual interpretation was necessary in order to engineer an overarching rhetorical argument against Spanish Catholics that could be deduced by considering any one of the illustrations in *Brevísima relación*" (507). Yet De Bry was doing more than simply recycling images within his own printing shop or from a corpus of illustrations of the Americas. The engravings look back to earlier devotional programs in print. Duviols goes so far as to call them a "calvario en diecisiete estaciones" ("Guerra" 100). The De Bry engravings position indigenous bodies as though they were Christ suffering during the Passion in fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century Catholic devotional images.

The layering of visual planes and slight alterations that the engravings enact with respect to the Latin text have prompted various explanatory hypotheses. Gustavo Verdesio describes the engravings that De Bry adds to the *Narratio verissima* as a contribution to the propagandistic

resistance that the Protestants from the Netherlands were fomenting against Spanish Catholics, their adversaries in the Dutch revolt (73). The images could have served, as Verdesio comments, to blacken the already negative image of Spaniards in Europe (73), although Jonathan Hart points out that European countries admired Spain's colonial trajectory more often than they criticized its cruelty or greed during the sixteenth century (225). Alternately, as Beck observes, the discrepancies between text and image could be due to the habitual recycling of partial and entire engravings in the *Narratio verissima* and the *Americas* series (507). The interrelation between images proved the prevalence and the authority of their critique of Spanish Catholics. Duviols concurs that the engravings should be taken as anti-Catholic propaganda ("Theodore" 13). He adds that they appear to be a contestation of Richard Versteghan's *Théâtre des Cruautez des Hereticques de nostre temps* (Antwerp: Adrien Hubert, 1588), whose text and illustrations critiqued Protestant violence in northern Europe ("Théodore" 13). Conley significantly points out the "ideological mobility" of the engravings (107). Like the chivalric woodcuts in the Cromberger editions of *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla, 1526) and the woodcuts of Christ conversing with a seated authority figure in *Thesoro* and *La passion*, the De Bry engravings are generic enough that they may accompany scenes of destruction included in the *Brevísima* or the *Americas* series.

Conley notes that "the illustrations [...] have a covert relation with other genres, especially accounts of martyrdom" (107). In a related vein, Henry Keazor convincingly argues that the engravings follow an alternate corpus of artistic models, such as mannerist sketches of Virginia by John White (132) or biblical scenes by Hendrick Goltzius (145). Duviols also points out Catholic iconography within the engravings, such as the evocation of the massacre of the holy innocents in the plate on page 10 of the *Narratio verissima* ("Guerra" 104) that includes a

soldier holding an infant by the legs preparatory to “da[r]le de cabeça [...] en las peñas” on Hispaniola (Las Casas, *Brevísima* a6v). In the same section, a man is grilled alive in a plate (Las Casas, *Narratio* 12) that “evoca claramente el suplicio de San Lorenzo en la parrilla” (Duviols, “Guerra” 106). The addition of the engravings to the *Narratio verissima* extends the translation’s potential uses beyond those of Protestant propaganda. Reading and viewing practices of visual and verbal descriptions in non-devotional texts like the *Narratio verissima* were influenced by illustrated medieval and early modern devotional books’ encouragement to meditate on representations of violence. In order to recognize practices resembling those of Passion-centered devotional books, it is necessary to examine the type of saving work proposed by Las Casas and by the translators as well as to establish that the illustrations of the *Narratio verissima* had similar effects on readers as those of late medieval Iberian devotional books.

Las Casas’s text as well as the minute details that the De Bry printers inscribed in their engravings involve the viewer imaginatively in the suffering of the subjects depicted. Las Casas foregrounds his personal experience of the atrocities committed in the Americas using phrases such as “yo vide:” “Yo vide todas las cosas arriba dichas y muchas otras ynfinitas” (*Brevísima* a7v); “Alli vide tan grandes crueldades que nunca los biuos tal vieron/ ni pensaron ver” (*Brevísima* b3v). He also positions other religious and the indigenous inhabitants themselves as eye witnesses to the scenes of horror: “Capitan vuo suyo que [...] mato sobre quarenta mil animas: que vido por sus ojos vn religioso de sant francisco” (*Brevísima* b4v); “Vista por los yndios cosa tan injusta et crueldad tan nunca vista” (*Brevísima* c2v). Las Casas uses direct address to involve readers in the act of witnessing, with repeated imperatives like “véase:” “Vease y considerase agora aqui qual es el apuechamiento [sic] y religion y exemplos de cristiandad de los espannoles que van alas yndias” (*Brevísima* d4r). Patricio Boyer asserts that

Las Casas “highlights the visual dimension of witnessing [...] with the aim of representing atrocity as tableau, as textual icon” (366). But it was not until the *Narratio verissima* with its engravings that the readers’ function was expanded to eye witnesses as well. To the existing scholarly dialogue pertaining to the De Bry engravings in the *Narratio verissima*, I propose that the encoding of textual violence into images highlights the influence of Catholic iconography in the *Narratio verissima*. The Christological imagery invoked by Las Casas in his defense of the indigenous peoples reappears as the engravings depict a parallel visual evocation of Christ’s Passion.

In his prologue to the *Brevissima*, Las Casas quotes Proverbs as he formulates his position that, if the king and his son knew of the injustices committed by their subjects, the ills would instantly be remedied: “The king that sitteth on the throne of judgment scattereth away all evil with his look” (Proverbs 20:8). As Boyer notes, “[r]eading the text will transmute reading into witnessing, that is, witnessing not just the text but also the experiences depicted” (374). Insofar as Las Casas equates viewing wrongs with righting them, the *Brevissima* “transforms the act of visualization into one that is explicitly charged with an ethical, and in this case moral and Catholic, responsibility” (Boyer 374). A failure to restore justice, Las Casas insinuates, casts doubt on the king’s awareness of the goings-on in his realm or, in a more drastic interpretation, his kingship: “Porque dela innata y natural virtud del rey [...] la noticia sola de mal de su reyno es bastantissima: para que lo dissipe” (*Brevissima* a3r). In many of the De Bry engravings, including the three discussed later in this chapter, Spanish soldiers and tormentors blithely contemplate the tortures inflicted on the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas. In Las Casas’s Prologue, which De Bry translates and includes in the *Narratio verissima* (*Narratio* 2-4), readers would find themselves placed in the witnessing role in which Las Casas placed Prince Felipe and

his father. Late sixteenth-century readers of the translations would have been cognizant of Carlos V's and Felipe II's impotence to stop the violence and slaughter of the indigenous peoples in the nearly fifty years that elapsed since the *Brevísima*'s publication in Sevilla.

The De Bry engravings that often include European figures contemplating violence without correcting it should be viewed in light of the prologue: their witnessing, alongside Carlos V's and Felipe II's, is vain because it did not and does not alter the scenes of violence. European readers and viewers of the *Narratio verissima* are challenged to be a different sort of witness, more akin to Solomon, who not only contemplate violence but also are moved by it to compassion and, as the couplet on the French editions' title pages suggests, "[...] deuient sage/ En voyant d'autrui le dommage" (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* *1r). By uniting the actions of seeing and enacting justice, Las Casas evokes the "devotional dynamics" at play in Iberia following the influence of Fernando de Aragón, Isabel de Castilla, and Hernando de Talavera (Rivera, "Text" 4). The link between witnessing and eliminating wrongdoing creates a situation in which, as Boyer describes, "[t]he text can no longer be read as a series of specific indictments and narrative descriptions; rather, it makes insistent ethical claims that demand that the reader visualize the various scenes of devastation" (375). By visualizing the grisly Passion scenes, readers of devotional books identified themselves with the suffering Christ so they might enter into redemption (Merback 20). With its material intertextuality with devotional books in both the text of the translation and the visual program, the *Narratio verissima* draws its readers and viewers into reading practices that resemble those enacted by readers of devotional books.

Images of (Com)Passion

La passion, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* include woodcuts of Crucifixion scenes, with Christ on the cross surrounded by penitent figures and, sometimes, the instruments of his

Passion.¹¹⁹ *La passion* also includes an *imago pietatis* on folio 2⁵r (fig. 2-5), which Merback indicates serves the purpose of “isolat[ing] for the spectator the bloodied body of Christ, riveting the compassionate gaze upon wounds caused by human sin” and, similarly, that “the spectacle of punishment fashioned a kind of living devotional image of pain for pious, contemplative immersion” (20). Contemplating a visual reproduction of the Passion or the Crucifixion on an imprint’s folio opens possibilities to experience first-hand the vigil at the foot of the cross and produces what Merback terms “the emergence of a devotional culture that promoted affective responses to images” (62). Robinson shows that the devotional images such as the *imago pietatis* facilitate the imitation of Christ by the faithful (16), an affective mimesis of the pain he endured during the Passion that extends to include an imitation of other aspects of the second person of the trinity in his incarnate form.

The centrality of Christ’s Passion in devotional literature and the beliefs with respect to the salvific power of Passion-focused meditation afforded a mystic and mythical meaning to the narratives of Christ’s final hours. Bynum shows how Christ’s wounds assumed miraculous powers such that those who contemplated images of them or venerated them would receive special graces or healing from their own afflictions (20). Yet these imparted graces did not come without consequences. In the late Middle Ages in Iberia, the believer’s enjoyment of Christ’s pure love began to be tainted by sensations of guilt. Christ loves the faithful, but at the same time, he reproaches them. Readers who contemplated an image of Christ’s suffering held illustrated versions of the *arma Christi* in their hands. Devotees were at once forgiven and continually guilty, as Merback explains in his conceptualization of an “ongoing Passion” (64). For Merback, the images of the Crucifixion changed from triumphal symbols of an execution

¹¹⁹ Crucifixion scenes in *Thesoro* may be found on folios 1r, 1v, 9r, and 106v; in *La Passion* on folios 1¹v, 2³v, 2⁵r; and in *La dolorosa* on folio 53v.

that leads to Christ's resurrection into representations of Christ's suffering that should inspire feelings of pity as well as guilt in the spectator (18). In Pablo Hurus's illustration for *Thesoro* of Christ regarding a penitent cleric, an illustration copied and used by Pere Posa in *La dolorosa*, Christ's expression mingles compassion with rebuke (fig. 2-7 and fig. 2-8).¹²⁰ Some devotional books guide readers to open themselves not only to pity, but also to guilt for their role in Christ's sacrifice. However, *Thesoro* seems to situate itself among another sort of devotional text that participates in an aspect of the medieval imagination that lingered in the early modern period: Merback terms it "a blaming of self that could oh so easily become a blaming of the other" (27). The psychological burden of pity and guilt that devotional books impose on their readers, according to Bynum, could become too much for the individual (29). To mitigate these feelings, the devotee transferred them to another (Bynum 29). It was likely a relief for Catholic readers to see the vilified faces of some of Christ's tormentors in *Thesoro*, as on folio 88v, as it allowed them to shift the blame for the suffering of their Savior from themselves.

The place of the indigenous subjects in this devotional network is ambiguous, if indeed they may be said to be included at all. The *Narratio verissima* engravings impose the system of Western Christian devotional gazing onto bodies that only in the loosest terms represent the actual inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Venezuela, and other conquered territories. Las Casas's text lends some sense of historical and geographical specificity to the engravings' neoclassical imagining of bodies, hairstyles, and environment. Yet the De Bry printers' introductory warnings to their readers against the sin of avarice suggest that Las Casas's account and the engravings may be taken in a figurative, emblematic sense. In this latter case, other victims may be substituted for those Las Casas names. Unintentionally, without knowing the role they would

¹²⁰ See Chapter Two for a study of the material intertextuality in Pablo Hurus's and Pere Posa's printed devotional books.

play in the book, without, perhaps, having converted to Christianity, the indigenous populations are incorporated into the Catholic iconographic program. Las Casas's descriptions of these first-nations individuals as peaceable, innocent victims transformed them into Christlike recipients of the Spaniards' cruelty.

This blending of biblical and contemporary public punishment in the sixteenth century recalls a similar experience in the minds of late medieval readers, as described by Merback, in that both types of punishment "unfolded within the same mental boundaries, fell into the same perceptual schemata and were conditioned by the same social and cultural factors. Spectacle and art were dialectically interwoven in the fabric of late medieval life" (21). Despite the temporal distance between the devotional books of the late Middle Ages and the publication of De Bry's *Narratio verissima*, graphic representations of the indigenous victims' suffering in the engravings would awaken compassion and pity in the readers. The utilization of violent spectacle to encourage compassion, contemplation, and prayer was a frequent strategy in affective spirituality. As late-medieval devotees did with Christ's suffering, *Narratio verissima* readers contemplated the indigenous peoples' anguish. Any guilt provoked by being complicit in the oppression through their role as spectators could be projected onto the Spanish colonizers conveniently depicted alongside the inhabitants of the Americas, some in attitudes of contemplation, others active perpetrators of violence. Even if De Bry envisioned the *Narratio verissima* as a critique of the colonizing practices of the Spaniards, he did not avoid falling into the same trap of objectifying the indigenous figures depicted in his engravings.

According to Bynum, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century devotional imagery exalts the paradox of wounds that heal, ignominy that is glory, death that becomes resurrection (25). This paradox relates to the mythical aspects of Christ's Passion. Here, the "mythical" properties of the

Passion refer to its ability to provide a narrative and rationalization for the social order. If this is so, engraved depictions of explicit violence against indigenous populations should not only be interpreted as a criticism of the brutality of Spanish Catholics in the Americas. It also constitutes an effort to sublimate the suffering of a group of victims through the paradoxical economy that the Passion proposes. Las Casas repeatedly defends indigenous persons by comparing them to Christ, as much in their meekness as in their suffering:

Enestas ouejas mansas y delas calidades susodichas por su hazedor et criador assi dotadas: entraron los espannoles desde luego que las conocieron como lobos et tigres y leones crudelissimos de muchos dias hambrientos. Y otra cosa no han hecho de quarenta annos a esta parte hasta oy et oy eneste dia lo hazen: sino despedaçallas/ matallas/ angustiallas/ afligillas/ atormentallas y destruyllas por las estrannas y nuevas et varias et nunca otras tales vistas ni leydas ni oydas maneras de crueldad. (*Brevísima* a5r)

This passage and others like it recall the prophecies of chapter fifty-three of the book of Isaiah which compare the Christ to a passive sheep led to slaughter:

Surely he hath borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows, and we have thought him as it were a leper and as one struck by God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our iniquities; he was bruised for our sins. The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed. [...] He was offered because it was his own will, and he opened not his mouth. He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth. (Isaiah 53: 4-5, 7)

Along with this textual alignment, the engravings that inflict pain on the indigenous peoples are, according to the devotional paradox Bynum describes, simultaneously an invitation to see them as figures of martyrs, saints, or even Christ himself. They become figures whose suffering promises salvation, from European viewers' perspective. Three notable occasions of material intertextuality in the *Narratio verissima* affirm that De Bry's engravings attempt to liberate indigenous subjects by pressing them into a visual and textual martyrdom within Western European devotional paradigms.

Imitatio Christi?

In the section on Cuba, the *Narratio verissima* positions an engraving of the execution of the community leader, Hatuey (fig. 4-3). Las Casas relates Hatuey's arrival in Cuba after fleeing with his people from the cruelties of the Christians (according to Las Casas) or of the Spaniards, *hispani*, (according to the *Narratio verissima*), for which "crime" he was condemned to be burned at the stake. Miggrode's French and, consequently, De Bry's Latin translations follow Las Casas's Spanish text closely: "Y solo porque huya de gente tan iniqua et cruel: y se defendia de quien lo queria matar et opprimir hasta la muerte a si et a toda su gente y generacion: lo ouieron biuo de quemar" (Las Casas, *Brevísima* b3v); "A la fin il fut pris; & seulement, par ce qu'il fuyoit d'une gent tan inique, & cruelle, & qu'il se defendoit de qui le vouloit tuer & oppresser iusques à la mort avecq tous ses gens, il fut bruslé tout vif" (Las Casas, *Tyrannies* 27); "Tandem captus, quod gentem tan iniquam, & crudelem fugeret, vitamque contra eos, qui suam suorumque mortem, querebant, tueretur, vivus exustus est" (Las Casas, *Narratio* 22). The engraving presents similarities to the devotional image of Christ and the penitent cleric from *Thesoro* and *La dolorosa*. In the De Bry engraving, Hatuey stands at the stake with smoke billowing behind him. A Franciscan friar improbably close to the flames clearly evangelizes,

holding a book and crucifix. Las Casas relates that, when asked if he desired to place his faith in the Christian God and go to heaven, Hatuey inquired whether heaven was where Spaniards (“hispani”) went.¹²¹ The Franciscan reportedly replied that “good Spaniards” (“boni hispani”) did, whereupon Hatuey determined that he preferred hell, provided he could escape the Spaniards there. This, Las Casas declared, was the fame that Christianity had among the indigenous people because of the conquerors’ cruelty (Las Casas, *Brevísima* b3v; Las Casas, *Narratio* 23-24). The *Narratio verissima* engraving reflects Hatuey’s choice, placing him amid rising flames, suffering torment yet, ironically, “safe” from the reach of the surrounding Spaniards.

Pablo Hurus in the 1490s and Pere Posa in 1508 inserted a woodcut into *Thesoro* and *La dolorosa* that also depicted a tortured victim (Christ) and a pious witness (a cleric). Unlike the interaction between the Franciscan and Hatuey, in the devotional woodcut, the two figures share the suffering. Andrés de Li’s text surrounding the image of Christ and the penitent man describes, in first person, the emotions the Passion should evoke in the faithful, mentioning “penitence,” “contrition,” and a life of “weeping and pain/ sighing and moaning” because of the suffering that Christ endured for sinners:

Aquí señor clementissimo delante tu majestad hare alguna señal de penitencia y de contricion: pues todo el mundo redimiste por tu sancta cruz y passion. Ya de aquí adelante piadoso señor/ mi vida no sera sino lloro y dolor/ suspirar y gemir [...] Quien pues glorioso señor me dara fuente tan abundosa de lagrimas/ paraque continuamente pueda llorar tan excessivos dolores/ como por mi peccador çufriste en tu venerable y delicada persona? (fol. 7r)

¹²¹ “Cristianos” in Las Casas’s *Brevísima*.

Readers, repeating the printed words as if they were their own and imagining themselves beside the cleric at the foot of the cross, would experience pity and empathy for the torture that their Lord underwent.

Despite the *Narratio verissima*'s words narrating a sharp criticism of the Spaniards' actions, including Hatuey's own repudiation of Christian salvation, he clearly takes the place of Christ in De Bry's engraving, with the dark vertical line of the stake paralleling that of the crucifix. The indigenous man contemplates the Franciscan, who replaces the penitent witness in the *Thesoro* and *La dolorosa* woodcuts. Yet, in De Bry's engraving, the friar, whose face is shaded and impassive, does not internalize the victim's suffering as the cleric does in the devotional woodcut. Readers contemplating the woodcut in *Thesoro* or *La dolorosa* would have been trained to situate themselves in the place of the cleric and to feel simultaneous pity and guilt. In some cases, they could impose a kind of penitential physical discipline, like the figure in the woodcut and those flagellant figures that appear among the other smaller *figurae orantes* at the start of each chapter of *Thesoro* (fig. 4-4). Such an identification would unite readers with Christ and the repentant cleric in the suffering that leads to salvation.

Readers' identification with the figures depicted in the *Narratio verissima* engraving is more difficult. The viewers of De Bry's engraving would resist placing themselves mentally alongside the Spanish friar or soldiers who contemplated the other man's torment without sharing it. Probably such readers would experience indignation at the situation's injustice and would position themselves against the Spaniards and, especially, against the friar who passively witnessed such violence. Las Casas's prologue encourages such a reaction, for in his construction of the king's witnessing, justice should arrive as a corrective to the injustices committed. In spite of this, mere indignation against the perpetration of unwarranted aggression

still leaves room for complicity on the part of viewers who, after all, contemplate the image with impunity, as he friar and nearby soldiers do. Readers and viewers might have realized upon gazing at the engraving that they profited from the American goods that enriched Europe through the Spaniards' despised avarice and at the cost of indigenous lives.

The woodcut of the "market" of human flesh (fig. 4-4) shows three scenes of martyrdom that form material intertexts with woodcuts of Christ carrying the cross in *Thesoro* (fig. 4-5), copied for *La passion* (fig. 4-6).¹²² To illustrate the road to Calvary, Pablo Hurus's and Fadrique de Basilea's woodcuts depend more on the symbolism of medieval capital punishment than that of a Roman crucifixion. The most noticeable element of the fifteenth-century woodcuts is the cross, with the crossbar already attached, against which Christ's nimbus shines above the crown of thorns. Christ bends under the weight of his burden, while the surrounding crowd members play musical instruments or raise a club menacingly.

The most striking areas of De Bry's engraving are in the central anthropophagic scene. Yet in the left foreground, the left background, and the right middle-ground are three representations of indigenous men carrying materials for ship construction: two anchors on the left and a mast on the right. The textual reference, from the section about the "Prouincia y Reyno de Guatemala" reads:

Mato infinitas gentes con hazer nauios: lleuaua de la mar del norte ala del sur ciento y treynta leguas los yndios cargados con anclas de tres y quatro quintales: que se les metian las vnas dellas por las espaldas y lomos. Y lleuo desta manera mucha artilleria en los hombros de los tristes desnudos: et yo vide muchos cargados de artilleria por los caminos angustiados. (Las Casas, *Brevísima* c7r-c7v)

¹²² The woodcut also appears in *Thesoro* on folio 90v.

In the De Bry engraving, viewers would recognize the laborers' hunched posture, the cross shape of the anchors, and the violent intervention by the supervisors from Las Casas's description and as material intertexts with Christian iconography. In the resulting image, the indigenous laborers resemble representations of Christ on the road to Calvary. As mentioned above, Keazor shows through a comparison of sixteenth-century Mannerist engravings with those from De Bry's *Americas* series that the latter's plates sometimes imitated scenes of saints or the Virgin and Child. The engraver, according to Keazor, copied the physical posture of a holy figure during an ecstatic experience and then changed the spiritual scene to one of slaughter (146, 148). Duviols compares the man in the foreground carrying the anchor with images of Christ carrying the cross ("Guerra" 124). Conley also points out that the scenes of torment are similar to Catholic representations of martyrs (10). Given the overlap between De Bry's uses of engravings in his imprints, origins in Christological art may also be attributed to the *Narratio verissima*'s portrayal of first nations peoples as victims, like Christ, of a cruel and bloodthirsty crowd.

The engraving's central image of cannibalism also dialogues with Catholic imagery and devotional culture. Michael Palencia-Roth discusses how Europeans' construction of the "New Man" of the so-called New World as cannibal positions this figure as "the extreme *Other*" against which Europeans define themselves (11, emphasis original). Michel de Montaigne, for one, took pains to convince readers of "Des Cannibales" that "ie trouve [...] qu'il n'y a rien de barbare & de sauuage en cete nation, a ce qu'on m'en a rapporté: sinon que chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son vsage" (306). When Montaigne addresses the anthropophagy that has been reported to him, he does so in a critique that could have come directly from Las Casas's pen, setting the customs of the indigenous peoples against the more "barbarous" European (probably Spanish) practices:

le pense qu'il y a plus de barbarie a menger vn homme viuant, qu'a le menger mort, [...] le faire mordre & meurtrir aus chiens et aus pourceaux: comme nous l'auons non seulement leu, mais veu de fresche memoire, non entre des ennemis anciens, mais entre des voisins & concitoyens, & qui pis est, sous pretexte de pieté et de religion. (317-18)

Conversely, De Bry's representation of anthropophagy seems rather to emphasize points of contact with Western Catholicism, particularly when cannibalism is portrayed in ritualistic terms, as in the *Americas* series (Palencia-Roth 17). Artistic renderings of cannibalism as ritual allow for material intertexts with Catholicism's collection and veneration of saints' relics or, in the case of communion, sacramental consumption of a holy body (Bynum 23).¹²³ Anthropophagy is a cultural taboo for Europeans; simultaneously, it alludes to the culminating moment of the celebration of the Mass, the partaking of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist.

For Kristine Kolrud, sometimes the divisions between literal and metaphorical cannibalism are porous in De Bry's art (279). Las Casas avails himself of references to anthropophagy to "montrer jusqu'ou les *conquistadores* pouvaient aller dans le traitement impitoyable des indigènes, mais cela pouvait conduire à associer les Indiens au cannibalisme, qu'ils soient forcés ou non d'y avoir recours" (Kolrud 282, emphasis original). The implicit criticism in De Bry's graphic representation of the consumption of human flesh is based only partly on Las Casas's text. Readers would also have had recourse to material intertexts such as rumors of cannibalism in the Americas; figurative connections to the intemperate greed of the Spanish conquistadors; or the Eucharist itself, given the accusations of cannibalism that the

¹²³According to the doctrine of concomitance, set down in the eleventh century, Christ in his entirety is present in each element of the Eucharist and, moreover, "that the Christ present in the sacrifice of the mass was the Christ of the resurrection" (Bynum 22).

doctrine of transubstantiation attracted (Kolrud 280). In Catholic doctrine, the metonymic portions of the host and of wine, signs of Christ's separate wounds, all lead to wholeness; agony leads to glory; passion leads to resurrection. Because of the mythology and the mysticism surrounding Christ's Passion, suffering is sublimated: "The unalterably sacrificial logic of His Death has given the event not only its mythopoetic power but also its capacity, as a symbol, to fuel the sacramental rites of the Church" (Merback 16). As Bynum explains, the mystery of the Passion lies in the wholeness of separate parts, in the resurrection that follows torment (25). Given the channeling of violence into its converse, perhaps it is not that De Bry degrades religious imagery, but rather that material intertextuality with the Passion sublimates indigenous suffering and, by so doing, appropriates their wounded bodies to allude to the crucified Christ. And if all of this seems repellant, such a reaction does fall within the gamut of registered reactions in medieval Catholic devotion, for Bynum notes that fear and revulsion, as well as awe and penitence, could follow meditation on the Crucifixion (25-26).

The final instance of material intertextuality between one of De Bry's engravings and a late fifteenth-century devotional woodcut is the scourging of Christ in *Thesoro* (fig. 4-7) and *La passion* (fig. 4-8) and of an indigenous man in the supplementary material following the *Brevísima* translation, in the eleventh extract from *Entre los remedios* (fig. 4-9). Material intertextuality may be found not only in the illustrations, but also in the text surrounding them. Devotional books blame Pilate for condemning the innocent Christ to be flogged "no por le perseguir, mas por satisfazer al furor de sus enemigos" (Li fol. 77v). Like Christ, who "por redemir todo el mundo çufriste ser atado a vna columpna, y ende ser de tal forma açotado que dende la planta del pie fasta la cumbre dela cabeça en ti no se hallaua salud" (Li fol. 77v), Las Casas describes the false accusations of indigenous men and women before a cruel governor

(*Tyrannies* 161-62; *Narratio* 124-25). The accusers demand that their captives be punished. The latter are tied to columns, following the tradition of Christ's position during his scourging, and cruelly beaten: "leur donnoit tant de coups, & tant cruelement les battoit, que le sang decouloit d'eux en beaucoup d'endroits, & estoient laisses pour morts" (*Tyrannies* 162); "ita eos verberabat & afficiebat, vt sanguine vndique fluente, pro mortuis relinquerentur" (*Narratio* 125). These resemblances should not be taken as coincidental. Las Casas frequently framed his discursive representations of indigenous subjects as figures of Christ; at the same time, state-sponsored discipline served as a model for representations of Christ's, saints', and martyrs' torments. The "penal character of the Crucifixion" (Merback 17) in religious iconography served to remind viewers that Christ's death was a punishment and emphasized both the "historicity and actuality of the event" (16). Inescapable for readers, then, would have been the material intertexts of experiences with public punishments of criminals that they had witnessed or about which they had heard.

The woodcut images of scourging feature a nearly identical posture of the victims and as well as likenesses in the poses of the tormentors and their instruments of torture. According to Elaine Scarry, a weapon has the capacity to "lift pain and its attributes out of the body and make them visible" (16). The common weapons in these illustrations inflict the same pain on Christ and the indigenous man; the similarity in the pain each would have felt produces a sort of martyrdom shared between the two. In these illustrations, Christ is at the center, tied to a pole, his body twisted in an instinctive flinch away from the whip. Two soldiers simultaneously scourge him. Christ directs his gaze not at either of his tormentors, but rather at an indistinct point outside the visual frame. His face registers no sign of pain. The man's body in the *Narratio*

verissima engraving is also tied to a post and is twisted by the same painful curve as Christ's.¹²⁴ Positioned at each side of their victim, the Spaniards lift whips nearly identical to those in the medieval woodcut, while the tormented man raises his eyes skyward. The man, his face relatively calm, does not make eye contact with his tormentors either. The serene faces of Christ and the indigenous man resemble the tranquil visages in portraits of martyred saints. Bynum attests that medieval theologians taught the glory of God protected saints from hurt and, in this way, allowed them to exhibit such calm expressions in moments of intense pain (15).

Despite the resemblance between representations of indigenous peoples' experiences of torment in the Americas with Christian imagery and teaching, Las Casas comments with disdain on the minimal and hypocritical attempts at evangelizing the indigenous peoples on the island of Hispaniola. After engaging in war, Las Casas declares, the Spaniards would divide the indigenous people among themselves and "que los ensennasse en las cosas de la fe catholica: siendo comunmente todos ellos ydiotas y hombres crueles auarissimos et viciosos/ haziendolos curas de animas" (*Brevísima* b2r). It seems, then, that these indigenous people would have had minimal Catholic formation and, even if they did, Las Casas asserts that they had little motivation and poor role models to encourage conversion. Therefore, the material intertexts produced by De Bry's layout of the colonial characters as though they were figures in the narrative of the Passion would have had more to do with awakening pity and compassion in a European reader than with being faithful to Las Casas's textual representation of the scene.

¹²⁴ Dorothy Sherman Severin traces the first appearance of Christ tied to a column to a Vespers hymn and a liturgical prayer (San Pedro 30 n.4). Diego de San Pedro mentions this set-up, which comes from tradition rather than a gospel account (30), for his scourging scene in *La passion trobada*: "Y luego por conplazer/ aquel pueblo endiablado/ syn mas hablas estender/ mando al rredentor meter/ en un palacio apartado;/ y mandole alli quedar; syn ninguna vestidura/ y a una colupna atar/ y mando aparejar/ los açotes damargura" (stanza 120, emphasis mine).

The *Narratio verissima* and other sixteenth-century books that took advantage of texts like the *Brevísima* to administer a critique of Catholic hegemony were not condemning massacre in general, but only in the specific Spanish case (Verdesio 75; Durán Luzio, “El asombro” 92). Particularly with the advent of postcolonial studies, contemporary scholarship focuses on Las Casas’s work in terms of the colonial Americas. However, sixteenth-century printers like De Bry would have tended to read Las Casas in terms of the conflicts between Spain and its opponents in the Netherlands, France, or England rather than distant wrongs inflicted across the Atlantic. Therefore, the creators and readers of *Tyrannies* or the *Narratio verissima* did not necessarily find this type of excessive violence to be problematic, or as problematic, in the Caribbean or the American continent as in their own European cities. According to Rabasa, French versions of the *Brevísima* reduced indigenous individuals into a symbol of French Protestants, victims of Spanish Catholics (225). This interpretation aligns itself with the late medieval devotional program as shown in *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* that carried over into the early modern period. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as Merback explains, the faithful were encouraged to substitute people they knew for characters in the Passion story as they re-created it in their imaginations (68). A similar situation may be assumed for the *Narratio verissima*. Given De Bry’s perspective on the conflict between Spain and the Netherlands, the indignation and compassion the engravings evoked in readers were not intended to be directed at indigenous victims of colonial violence, but rather at the plight of European Protestants.

Whether or not De Bry had personally seen either medieval Iberian devotional book, the similarity in the *mise-en-scène* of the three figures in these images would have acted as a material intertext that would cause readers to recall an iconographic program of the Passion that was generalized throughout Europe. Throughout the *Narratio verissima*’s panoramic journey

across the Americas, it emphasizes the colonizers' violent actions, so that the text resembles a sort of anti-chivalric novel, where the antagonists' lack of virtue provides counter-examples for Christian readers. Rather than restore order, the Spanish soldiers bring destruction. Jesús Rodríguez Velasco reveals the darker side of knighthood and of virtue, its chief value: "But *virtue* [...] is also a euphemism for the systemic and physical violence represented by the knight's ability to become a warrior, a conqueror, the one able to subdue political entities, women, and people, and the one who can singlehandedly enforce new rules" ("Knightly" 304, emphasis original). Prolonged meditation on Christ's suffering and the violent acts perpetrated on his flesh, which *Thesoro's figurae orantes* indicate could have been duplicated on the bodies of the faithful, trained European Catholics to believe in the transactional nature of pain. In this spiritual economy, suffering leads to salvation. Christ's shedding of his blood, like the knights' inflicting of physical violence, held the possibility to reconcile rule-breakers, whether spiritual or civil.

The links between devotion to Christ's Passion and the salvation of human beings could have influenced De Bry's representation of the victims of Spanish oppression, since De Bry was a man who desired that his home country be free from Spanish rule. Although De Bry was Protestant, material intertexts between the visual program in his engravings in the *Narratio verissima* and the images produced and reproduced in Catholic devotional texts and artifacts are too methodical to be arbitrary. The prevalence of Christocentric iconography in the European artistic imaginary makes material intertexts like these nearly unavoidable. From this posture, the Spaniards in De Bry's engravings replace Christ's tormentors and the European Protestants, rather than indigenous Americans, become the Christlike victims. However, this process of appropriating indigenous suffering and transforming it into a sign of European distress

objectifies the indigenous individuals, strips them of their humanity, and makes them, once more, an instrument for European purposes.

The *Narratio verissima* engravings leverage material intertextuality with Catholic devotional books as in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century devotional books like *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* in order to inspire certain affective reactions in their viewers. However, the application of this visual paradigm to indigenous bodies with the supposed aim of saving them is problematic. I intend here to interrogate more than the visual sublimation of the torture and slaughter of indigenous peoples. Violence engenders violence: pain-filled Passion images that triggered medieval devotion flowed into the *Narratio verissima*'s secular depictions of violence in the colonial Americas. As Bynum explains, "the violence of everyday life only reduplicated [...] sorrow at the violence inflicted on Christ. But the displacement could work the other way; the horror and filth of living could seem to pollute God" (26). Scarry's theorization of the structure of war, particularly her assertion that war demands the "disowning of injury" (64), offers insight into how colonial violence could "pollute God." Colonial authorities prohibited the publication of Las Casas's written attempts to defend indigenous peoples' humanity, authorizing in their place an official history that insisted on the "subhuman" nature of the inhabitants of the Americas. In so doing, Spanish officials institutionalized a strategic disowning and silencing of the wounds of indigenous populations. The studies cited previously in this chapter have characterized the *Narratio verissima* and its engravings as a discursive move toward freedom and justice in the face of physical and ideological Spanish colonial oppression. However, I contend that the aesthetic decision to express indigenous pain in terms of European Christian iconography constitutes yet another instance of colonization, this time of the bodies of indigenous sufferers.

In the *Narratio verissima* engravings, indigenous persons' suffering is not their own, but rather that of Dutch and French Protestants or that of Christ and the martyrs of the European canon. Pressed into the mold of the Passion's mystical salvific power as inscribed in late medieval devotional images, indigenous subjects are saved only through the staging of a dramatic and tortuous spectacle. Santa Arias concludes that in Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, the Dominican friar manages to invert the normative historiographic narrative that consigns the American subject to otherness: "With the positive representation of the Indian, he identifies the Other as those Europeans who fail to aspire to an ideal Christian status and denies and demystifies the extraneous and unknown otherness that had been attributed to the Indian" (175). Verdesio indicates a further laudable aspect of the *Brevísima*: "Las Casas does what brave journalists of our era have done; he denounces the crimes committed by his own people" (75). Las Casas's resistance to the official history propagated by Spanish colonial administration makes visible the harm inflicted on American bodies and lands. The *Narratio verissima* engravings, conversely, revert to the colonial status quo, with the indigenous peoples objectified and absorbed into a Eurocentric framework. Moreover, the *Narratio verissima*, using the elite, authoritative Latin of the Church and of humanist university curriculum, suppresses the vernacular, denunciative voice that Arias and Verdesio value in the Las Casas's writings. The act of translation further distances the text from the pain of indigenous bodies and, for those readers with limited access to Latin, focuses attention on visual depictions of indigenous peoples' suffering that represent them as figures of Christ according to a still-familiar paradigm of late medieval devotion.

The spectacle of violence in the *Narratio verissima* falls short as a critique of colonialism and Catholicism because it attempts to fit the experience of colonization into the transcendental

myth of medieval Western Europe, that of Christ's Passion. For a devout reader of books like *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*, meditating on Christ's wounds and the *arma Christi* could provoke a mystical entering into those very wounds such that, as Bynum describes, "[j]ust as the devotee moves around the field of the *arma Christi*, taking into himself the suffering, guilt and protection of Christ's agony, [...] so he enters Christ's wounded parts themselves, incorporating as he is incorporated into God" (22). De Bry's use of Catholic imagery in his engravings has a similar effect on the indigenous figures depicted and on the *Narratio verissima* readers. Both the readers and the indigenous peoples were incorporated mystically into the iconographic program as sharers in Christ's Passion, whether through visual representation, in the case of the indigenous victims, or through the empathy that the images inspired, in the case of the readers. The similarity of the De Bry engravings to devotional images of the Passion acted as a material intertext, leading readers to react to the engravings with the same pity and compassion that devotional images in the tradition of affective spirituality inspired. The crucial difference between *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa*'s readers and the indigenous figures represented in the *Narratio verissima* engravings stems from the subjectivity that the readers maintained and that the indigenous figures never had. While readers freely chose their reactions, whether pity, compassion or even revulsion at the spectacle of violence, the engravings force indigenous populations to serve Eurocentric ends while foregrounding Las Casas's extreme descriptions of violence as an antecedent of salvation.

The *Narratio verissima* edition had little intent to alter the situation in the Americas, although it appears to align itself with opponents of Spanish colonialism. By identifying the Catholicized visual program of violent spectacle encoded in its engravings, this chapter has called into question the *Narratio verissima*'s censure of Spanish colonial practices. Moreover, by

signaling that the engravings' stagings of violence do not exist in isolation and tracing them to late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century devotional imagery, it becomes possible to highlight a lesser-studied facet of non-Spanish versions of Las Casas's text: namely, their complicity in the othering and oppression of American indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

Material Intersections: Traversing Literary and Geographic Boundaries in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Print Culture

The fourteenth-century gothic basilica Santa Maria del Mar in the Ribera district of Barcelona is home to a series of restored stained-glass windows whose originals were damaged or destroyed in July of 1936. Near the Carrer dels Sombrerers door in the southwestern corner lies a small chapel dedicated to “Saint John ‘ante portam latinam,’ patron of the graphic arts” (*Getting* n.p.).¹²⁵ The stained-glass window in this chapel depicts scenes from Saint John the Evangelist’s life in the upper panels and, in the lower left panel, a printing press, a compositor’s stick, and an inking ball in a pool of red ink (fig. 5-1). Stained-glass windows often depict an acknowledgement of the person or group who sponsored the window’s creation. The restoration

¹²⁵ “Ante portam latinam” refers to the place “Before the Latin Gate” in the Roman wall where John the Evangelist was delivered from Emperor Domitian’s sentence to be burned to death in boiling oil (Voragine 276-77). Tertullian was the first to record this miracle in his *Prescriptions Against Heretics* (57). A feast day on May 6 commemorates the event (Voragine 276).

of one of the more famous windows in Santa Maria del Mar was financed by Football Club Barcelona and the designer, Pere Cànovas Aparicio, included the team's logo in the window's design (Casinos n.p.).¹²⁶ Saint John the Evangelist is patron of printers and book binders, among others. The printing press may have been built into the decorative elements of the Saint John window if graphic artists contributed to its restoration. Considering the parish's willingness to include more contemporary symbolism in the window restorations, the depiction of pre-modern printing equipment also recalls the associations of early printing and the Catholic faith in the late medieval and early modern periods.

What material intertextuality does this stained-glass window have for a twenty-first-century churchgoer or tourist? As the preceding chapters have discussed, readers in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have had an assortment of Passion-centered reading, viewing, and liturgical experiences with which they could associate their books' material and literary contents. In contrast, much of the shared cultural knowledge that circulated in Europe in the late medieval and early modern periods has become less accessible to modern readers and viewers through disuse (Merback 12). Therefore, the stained-glass scenes from Saint John the Evangelist's life and Christ's Passion do not initiate the same progression of contemplation, identification, and empathy in viewers today. Instead, we draw on our own cultural knowledge to find material intertexts between the stained-glass images and our own, contemporary experiences. A tourist in Santa Maria del Mar might see the Saint John window's vibrant colors and remember the lovely blue hues she had seen in the stained-glass in Chartres Cathedral. A regular church-goer would recognize the depiction of the Crucifixion on the left, but the adjacent

¹²⁶ Cànovas worked for the glassmaking firm Artes del Vidrio A. Oriach, which handled much of the postwar church restoration in Barcelona, having succeeded the Amigó family's nineteenth- and earlier twentieth-century company (Cañellas and Gil 56).

elderly man with a bird of prey at his feet holds meaning only for those familiar with the tetramorphs that link Saint John and the eagle.

However, readers of this dissertation will recognize some instances of material intertextuality that are unique to twenty-first-century viewers looking back toward the Middle Ages. From a contemporary vantage point, they can now link the Saint John the Evangelist stained-glass window in Santa Maria del Mar in Barcelona with Barcelonese printer Pere Posa's compilation of poems based on Saint John's gospel in *La dolorosa*, including the woodcut image of Saint John the Evangelist on the title page. They will also find the appearance of a printing press directly beneath a depiction of the Crucifixion in a stained-glass window created in the twentieth century to be a telling indicator of the enduring connections between print and the Passion. These lingering associations owe much to the Passion's centrality in the late medieval and early modern European imaginary and, particularly pertinent in the context of this dissertation, printers' use and reuse of Passion-related imagery in their imprints over time.

In part, I have intended material intertextuality to enable my dissertation's readers to access the body of literary, social, and cultural knowledge pertaining to the Passion shared by late medieval and early modern readers and viewers of *La dolorosa*, *Amadís de Gaula*, and the *Narratio verissima*. Such a tool is needful for contemporary readers because that body of knowledge has shifted, been supplemented, or been replaced by other material intertexts in the last four or five hundred years. Once appreciable to twenty-first century readers, material intertexts among these imprints serve to expand our awareness of the printing strategies and reading practices of those who produced and used them. Because Passion-related imagery was so prevalent in Europeans' "lived experience of Christianity" (Rivera, "Text" 14) throughout the

late medieval and early modern periods, the imprints studied in this dissertation should be understood as samples of more generalized cultural and literary borrowing.

To offer only one example, Juan Parix could join the key figures of the Iberian printing industry whose physical and figurative border crossing this dissertation has analyzed. Parix's edition of the *Sinodal de Aguilafuente* (Segovia, 1472) inaugurated print on the Iberian Peninsula, but his trajectory neither began nor ended in Castilla. Born in Heidelberg, he learned the printing trade in Germany before working and acquiring printing materials in Italy (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 29). After his years in Segovia (1472-1476?), he pursued another phase of his career in Toulouse (Reyes Gómez and Vilches Crespo 40-43). Parix's varied output included religious texts like the ones he printed at Juan Arias Dávila's invitation in Segovia, but also translations of vernacular romances such as the *Historia de la linda Melosina* (Toulouse, 1489). As Chapters Two, Three, and Four demonstrated, printed translations and re-editions are fertile ground for material intertextuality. Lydia Zeidenrust illustrates how the visual program of Parix's and Clebat's *Historia de la Linda Melosina* imitates editions of the text printed in Lyon which, in turn, had been inspired by a prior edition printed by Bernhard Richel in Basel (28-29). Woodblocks migrated with the text from Basel to Lyon to Toulouse; Parix and Clebat replaced blocks that were lost or damaged in the interim, again with Richel's edition as a model (Zeidenrust 29). Yet, as Rivera demonstrates, not only the sought-after images of the *Historia de la linda Melosina*, but also text inserted by Parix and Clebat that expressed emerging ideologies of the Castilian court contributed to their edition's commercial viability in Iberia ("*Historia*" 144). The material intertextuality of text and image enabled Parix and Clebat to tap into their target public in the Iberian book market. The printers in Toulouse availed themselves of material intertexts with successful previous editions of *Melosina* and with language familiar to Iberian

readers, just as Pere Posa invoked the success of Pablo Hurus's richly illustrated imprints when he prepared *La dolorosa*, as Denis Janot and Nicolas de Herberay used printerly and linguistic strategies to translate *Amadís de Gaula* for a French readership, and as the De Bry printers availed themselves of material intertexts with devotional imagery as they prepared the *Narratio verissima*.

The circulation of images and cultural referents characterized by material intertextuality with the Passion occurred for a variety of reasons that have been outlined in the previous chapters, including financial expediency, readers' and buyers' expectations, intentional imitation of known successes, and artisanal innovation. In my dissertation, I have employed material intertextuality to frame how readers' interactions with printed books encompassed experiences within and beyond the contents of an imprint they held in their hands. Many of these experiences were informed by or presented in terms of Christ's suffering and Passion, even when the figures depicted or described were not Christ himself. As Merback explains, European devotional practices in the Middle Ages depended upon viewing or picturing a tortured body, which included Christ's as well as those of Christian martyrs or criminals (19). In the case of printed books that did not explicitly evoke the Passion, affective spirituality and its aims to identify with Christ through pity and compassion caused readers to approach sufferers other than Christ using similar strategies of identification and compassion (Merback 20-21).

In addition to examining Passion-focused material intertexts, this dissertation has joined the recent work of scholars such as Coldiron and Francomano in questioning the application of tidy divisions between language, geographic region, and genre to late medieval and early modern literature. Uniting the three disciplines of literature, history, and bibliography that Howsam combines in her triangular model of book culture studies (17), Coldiron discloses the

interconnectedness of translation and print culture in late medieval and early modern English imprints, asserting the roles of printers in adapting and translating foreign texts to English language communities. Francomano's study also engages in interdisciplinary work to explore issues of translation and materiality, tracing the cross-cultural mobility and multimedial adaptability of *Cárcel de amor* in the sixteenth-century. Contributions to the construction of national histories of the book, most notably *L'histoire de l'édition française*, but also those with special relevance to this dissertation such as Manuel Llanas i Pont (*Historia de l'edició a Catalunya*), provide helpful perspectives on the localized development of the printing industry. However, as David Wacks observes, "From our modern-day perspective, formal institutional study of literary texts may seem to be divided neatly [...] However, it bears repeating that the social reality in which [medieval texts] were written, read, heard, copied, and otherwise transmitted or discussed was not similarly compartmentalized" (235). Consequently, Coldiron's *Printers without Borders* has launched a new phase in book culture studies, that of exploring the mobility of printed books, their creators, and their users. Her trans-national approach invites the application of her study, centered on Renaissance British literary production, to projects that articulate similar topics in other European regions. Following her example of stretching "the strict limits of nation and language" (Coldiron 283), "Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World" has incorporated Spanish, Catalan, French, and Latin texts as well as printers from multiple geographic areas in contact with the Iberian world. In this way, my project participates in this emergent stage in the history of the book by increasing the visibility in book culture studies of Iberian literary and cultural production and by proposing material intertextuality as a framework to articulate moments of linguistic, literary and cultural exchange in printed books that crossed borders.

My dissertation has employed material intertextuality as a critical framework to investigate connections among printed books that produced allusions to prior reading, viewing, emotive, and recitative experiences relative to the Passion in readers' minds. I have contended that material intertexts should be understood as indicative of printers' intervention in the authorship of printed books and demonstrative of the connections they conceived in the materiality and textual content of their own and others' imprints. In this way, my dissertation has answered Drucker's urging that we consider materiality in terms of production, reception, and "performative engagement" (13). The dissertation's conception of material intertextuality has also argued that the components of books that Genette has classified as paratexts can be more productively studied in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in concert with books' literary content, rather than as disparate elements. Such a perspective, supported by Camille, Rivera, and Mitchell, provides a critical position from which to evaluate how printed books conditioned readers' active linking of material and literary content with experiences of reading, viewing, and feeling to which printed books intertextually alluded.

I have examined material intertexts both within and across geographical areas as well as across devotional and non-devotional genres. This cross-genre analysis has incorporated associations among printed books and religious art or liturgy to demonstrate that devotional activities informed reading practices of religious as well as secular texts. The Passion-centered material intertextuality that the dissertation has pointed out in devotional books, chivalric fiction, and accounts of violence in the Americas has proven that opening a dialogue across genres reveals commonalities among them that may remain unnoticed when they are studied separately.

Accordingly, each chapter of my dissertation revisited and reframed intertextuality, in both its literary and material iterations, to display the flexibility of boundaries in the late fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries. Chapter Two assessed how Pere Posa reedited *La dolorosa* by adapting materials and techniques from fifteenth-century Castilian devotional books. His modifications included increasing opportunities for readers' visual interaction with the imprint and the addition of Latin phrases that drew upon readers' "liturgical literacy" (Zieman 106). The material intertextuality that links *La passion*, *Thesoro*, and *La dolorosa* depends especially upon their multi-modal *mise-en-livre* that conditioned a performative and contemplative Passion-centered reading experience. The languages included in these texts, both vernacular and well-known Latin liturgical phrases that formed part of worshippers' routines, increase the texts' utility for private devotion. The blending of languages in these imprints mirrors the multilingualism of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. My analysis of late medieval and early modern imprints necessarily bridged linguistic traditions because printers and readers worked and read across multiple languages. Material intertexts in *La dolorosa*, *La passion*, and *Thesoro* illustrated that borders between devotional books printed in different languages are fluid.

Chapter Three, while also integrating imprints in Spanish and French, broadened its analysis to explore material intertextuality across literary genres. Specifically, it studied how printers' choices influenced reading experiences of *Amadis de Gaula*, *Amadis de Gaule*, and imprints related to them by material intertexts. Material intertextuality among two Cromberger editions of chivalric fiction, *Oliveros* and *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula*, with a sample of devotional literature, *Thesoro*, affirmed that the borders between genres, as between languages, were quite porous during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Innovations and reconfigurations of printing conventions in answer to cultural and linguistic expectations that differed from those of the original recipients, as in the case of Denis Janot's production of *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule*, demonstrated that printing constituted an aspect of the

translation process. Printer's editorial decisions with respect to layout and material components informed readers' approaches to printed books, including printed books authored by women. As this chapter concluded, employing conventions typical of one genre or literary tradition to print a text outside that tradition can be conceived as akin to "translating" from one genre to another and encouraging readers toward certain convention-related interpretative strategies. Material intertexts in *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* and in *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* crossed boundaries not only of languages, but of literary genres as well.

Chapter Four interrogated the material intertextuality of Janot's engravings with late fifteenth-century devotional images that inescapably links indigenous subjects with the violent spectacle of the Passion. This chapter contended that implicit in this linkage is an erasure of the indigenous peoples' pain and their own cultural constructions of their suffering. Although they are the protagonists of Las Casas's and his translators' accounts, the artistic style and the absence of indigenous persons as collaborators in the communications circuit around the *Narratio verissima* does not make allowance for their choice of whether to participate in the Passion's exchange of torment for salvation. European readers were familiar with the participatory nature of affective spirituality that enabled them to empathize with the depicted victims and to imagine themselves into the scenes as witnesses and co-sufferers. They were also accustomed to exercising agency as to the type of emotional response and the degree of identification to pursue. The indigenous subjects in the *Narratio verissima* engravings and text, however, were demonstrated to become stand-ins for European conceptions of their own misuse by the authorities of the Spanish empire. As Chapter Four concluded, the material intertextuality that led European readers to connect indigenous peoples' postures and plight with Christ's Passion caused the victims of colonization to undergo further objectification. The study of the *Narratio*

verissima affirms that material intertextuality establishes continuity across languages, genres, and geographical regions while problematizing material intertexts that attempt uncritically to bridge cultural alterity.

“Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World” has integrated a consideration of printed books as products of their cultural milieu into a literary studies approach. It has held that, when accounting for the arrival and spread of affective spirituality in Iberia, the participation of printers should not be discounted. Just as Chartier remarks upon reading as “a practice embodied in acts, spaces, and habits” (*Order* 3), so printing should be understood as a series of actions and choices inflected by cultural, geographic, and temporal factors. When printers such as Juan Parix, Pablo Hurus, Fadrique de Basilea, and Pere Posa established print shops in Iberia, they carried with them devotional paradigms that informed their decisions of which books to print as well as those books’ visual codes. Once it became evident that books that encouraged devotion to Christ’s Passion could hold a place of prominence in the book trade, even non-devotional printed literature evoked the Passion in its visual programs. In both cases, printers played crucial roles in the evolution of devotional and reading practices in the Iberian world.

By including the study of printers and printed books from France, the Netherlands, and Germany as counterpoints to Iberian examples and by examining how printing and reading practices employed for devotional treatises conditioned the printing and reading of secular texts, this dissertation project has offered to scholars of medieval Iberian literature and to book historians new ways of approaching late medieval and early modern printed books. Indicating allusions to fifteenth-century Iberian devotional texts in non-Iberian printed books opens Spanish literary

traditions to include printers and texts from other European literary currents that, through material intertextuality, influenced one another. A temporal frame that bridges the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries served as a reminder of the continuity of printing, reading, and devotional practices during this period. By applying material intertextuality to imprints related to the Passion, this dissertation has reoriented contemporary literary and cultural studies' perspectives related to generic, geographic, and linguistic divisions. In so doing, "Imprints of Devotion: Print and the Passion in the Iberian World" provides an interdisciplinary position from which to examine late medieval and early modern literature as artifacts that teach us about their creators and users.

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S.D.G.

Figures and Illustrations

Adare de deu: humil tostemps e verge
 Lum daquest mon: del cel luent caruoncle
 Adirra portam: de nostra vidamarga
 Volent nos fort: com hauem fet offensa
 Al vostre fill: deu y senyor benigne
 Ensens tenim: que nostre cor perfuma
 Que som content: se fassa sacrifici
 De nostra carn: si vostre fill ho mana.

Ce no gosam: les nostres mans estendre
 Per a vntar: del vostre fill insigne
 Lo cors sagrat: mas pienu a quest balsem
 Que sens temor: nostra lengual confessa
 Redemptor deu: a deu plaent oferta
 Qui al terç jorn: trahent del fondo carge
 Vos sancts catius: lo veureu dins la cambra
 Ades clarejant: quel sol alt en lo cercle.

Deo gratias.



Al labor e gloria de nostre senyor:
 e a saluacio de les animes nostres. Feneix la dolorosa passio
 del nostre redemptor Jesuchrist: nouament estandada per
 mestre Pere Posa Cathala: e fonch acabat a .xxviiij. dies
 del mes de Setembre Any MDL. D. e. xviiij.



1518

Figure 2-1. Pelican printer's device from Fenollar, Martines, Scrivà, and Roís de Corella, *La dolorosa* (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1518) Fol. 61v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

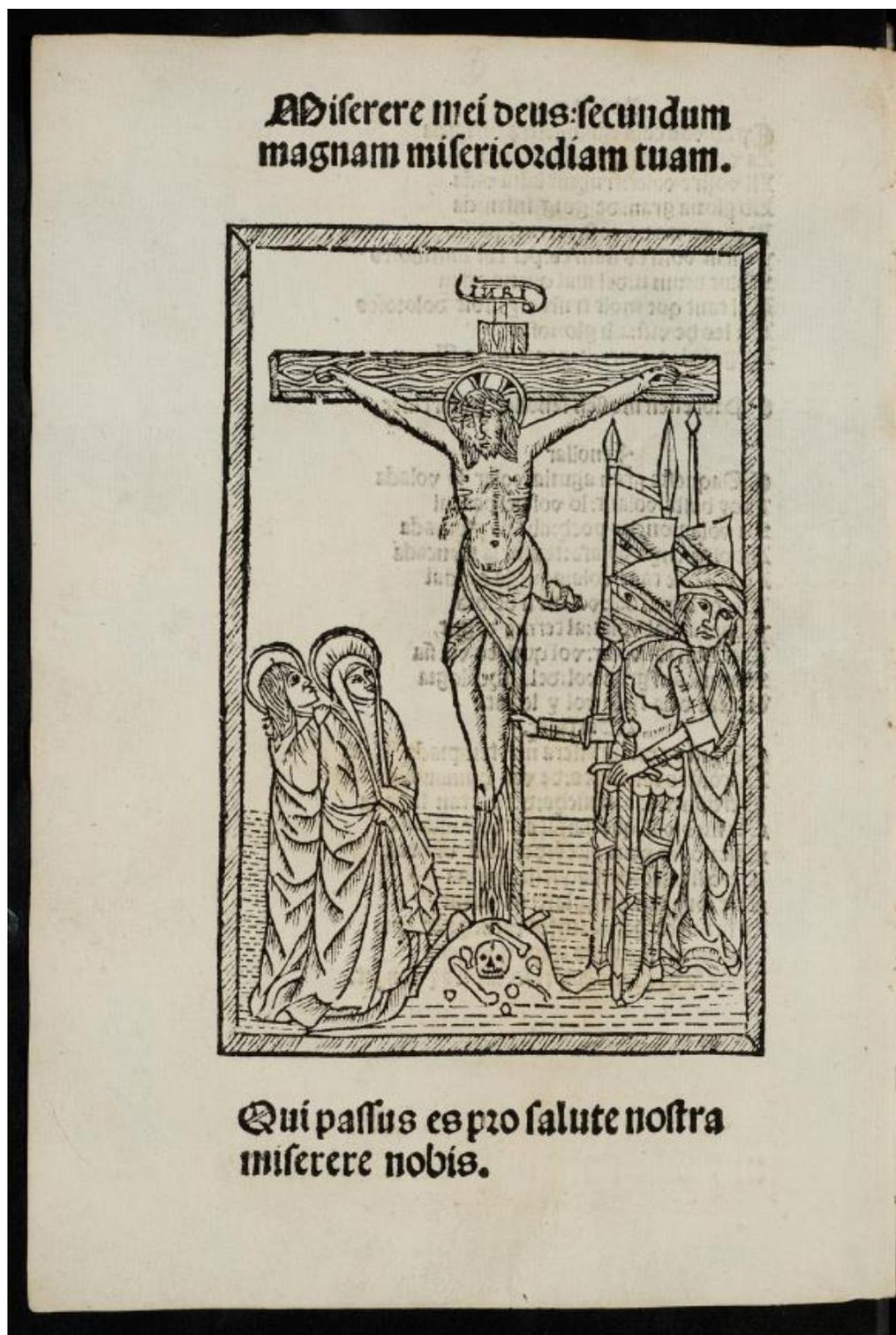
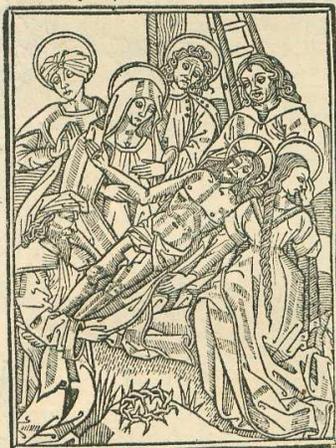


Figure 2-2. Crucifixion from Fenollar, Martines, Scrivà, and Roís de Corella, *La dolorosa* (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1518) Fol. 53v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

La segunda

¶ **B**axado del dicho monte caluario descendiendo a mano yzquierda/ sta situada otra capilla en honor dela virgē sin manzilla/ y de sant johā: enel lugar Golgatha llamado: donde se parece ahun aquella hendedura grande que baxa toda fasta la tierra por medio la peña. En este lugar fue fallada la misma cabeza del muy antigo Adam padre nuestro: son otorgadas. vij. años y vij. quarentenas de indulgencia.

¶ **D**el dicho monte caluario/ llegamos despues en aquel lugar que sta señalado con vna piedra blanca/ donde la virgen dolorosa recibio a su amado hijo en sus brazos despues de muerto dela cruz batado: ende lo emboluiē



en las sauanas blancas: y le vntarō de mirra y aloes para le poner en la sepultura. Es otorgada plenaria remissio. ¶ **A**l fin ya entramos con la procession en la capilla redonda/ dicha de arriba: donde sta puesto el glorioso sepulcro santo: enel qual cristo jefu/ despues dela cruz batado: embuelto en las sa-

banas blancas/ en presencia de su madre bēdita/ por Nicodemos y Joseph de arimathia fue puesto: y cō la piedra



cubierto: dela qual piedra el vn pedaço esta en la yglesia de sant Saluador segun arriba dixē. Arden cōtinuas en el santo sepulchro. xvij. lamparas: y de lante aquel tres cirios: donde hay vna pequena capilla: gana se ende plenaria remissio de todos pecados. ¶

¶ **B**ede fallidos luego boluimos ala capilla de nuestra seņora/ para q̄ se acabasse la procession en aquel lugar donde començō.

¶ **Q**uando acabada fue la procession y cada vno ya houo comido: despues andouieron/ segun los votos y deuociones/ andando aquellos lugares sagrados: el tiempo dela noche que nos quedaua/ y escogidos si quier diputados los confesores/ todos cōfessauan ende sus pecados/ era el alba ya esclarecida. y el. iij. dia de julio quando enel monte caluario tomauan los peregrinos el sacramēto precioso dela comu-

Figure 2-3. Deposition from Breydenbach, *Viaje dela tierra sancta* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1498) Fol. 64v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Domine Iesuchriste adoro te in se
pulchro positum myrrha z aromati
bus condituz: deprecor te vt vulnera
tua sint remediuz anime mee. Amē.

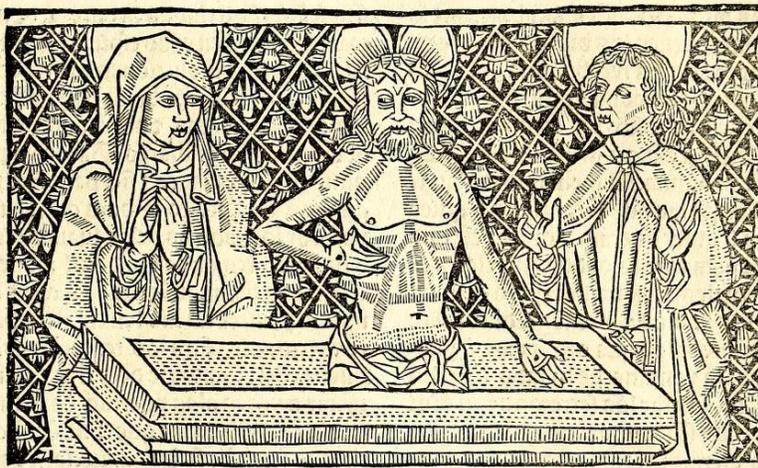


Segueix se vna deuota oracio ala
sacratissima verge Maria tenint so
fill deu Iesus en la falda deuallat de
la creu: ordenada per lo molt reue
rent mestre Corella.

Figure 2-4. Deposition from Fenollar, Martines, Scrivà, and Roís de Corella, *La dolorosa*

(Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1518) Fol. 60v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

Ecce homo.



In passione domini: in qua datur salus homini: sit nostrum refrigerium: et corporis desiderium. Portemos in memoria: et penas et obprobria: coronam christi spineam: crucem clauos et lanceam. Et plagas sacratissimas: omni laude dignissimas: acetum fel arundinem: et mortis amaritudinem. Hec omnia nos saucient: et dulciter inebrient: nos repleant virtutibus: et gloriosis fructibus. Te crucifixum colimus: et toto corde poscimus: ut nos sanctorum cetibus: coniungas in celestibus. Laus honor christo uedito: et sine casu pedito: passo morte pro populo: in aspero patibulo. Sit laus et gloria christo. Amen.

Siguiese vna oracion muy deuota al crucifixo.



Ohesu xpo crucificado saluador del mundo: q es de aqlla ta extrema beldad en q sobraсте todos los fijos de los hombres. q es de aql rostro ta reueredo et de ta gra

acatamiento: q es de aqlla faz sin ruga ni tacha: q es de aqlla fermosura ql la natura nunca otorgo a psona viuiente. Oh dnos mio crucificado: qen son los q te ha assi messado et maltratado. Oh señoz qn desfigurado estas. Oh señoz y quien te conosco. hauiendo conosco vna ta extrema belleza viedo agora vna tan maña difformidad de golpes et feridas

Figure 2-5. "Ecce homo" *mise-en-page* from [Gerson], *La passion* (Burgos: Fadrrique de Basilea, [1493]) Fol. 2⁵r. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

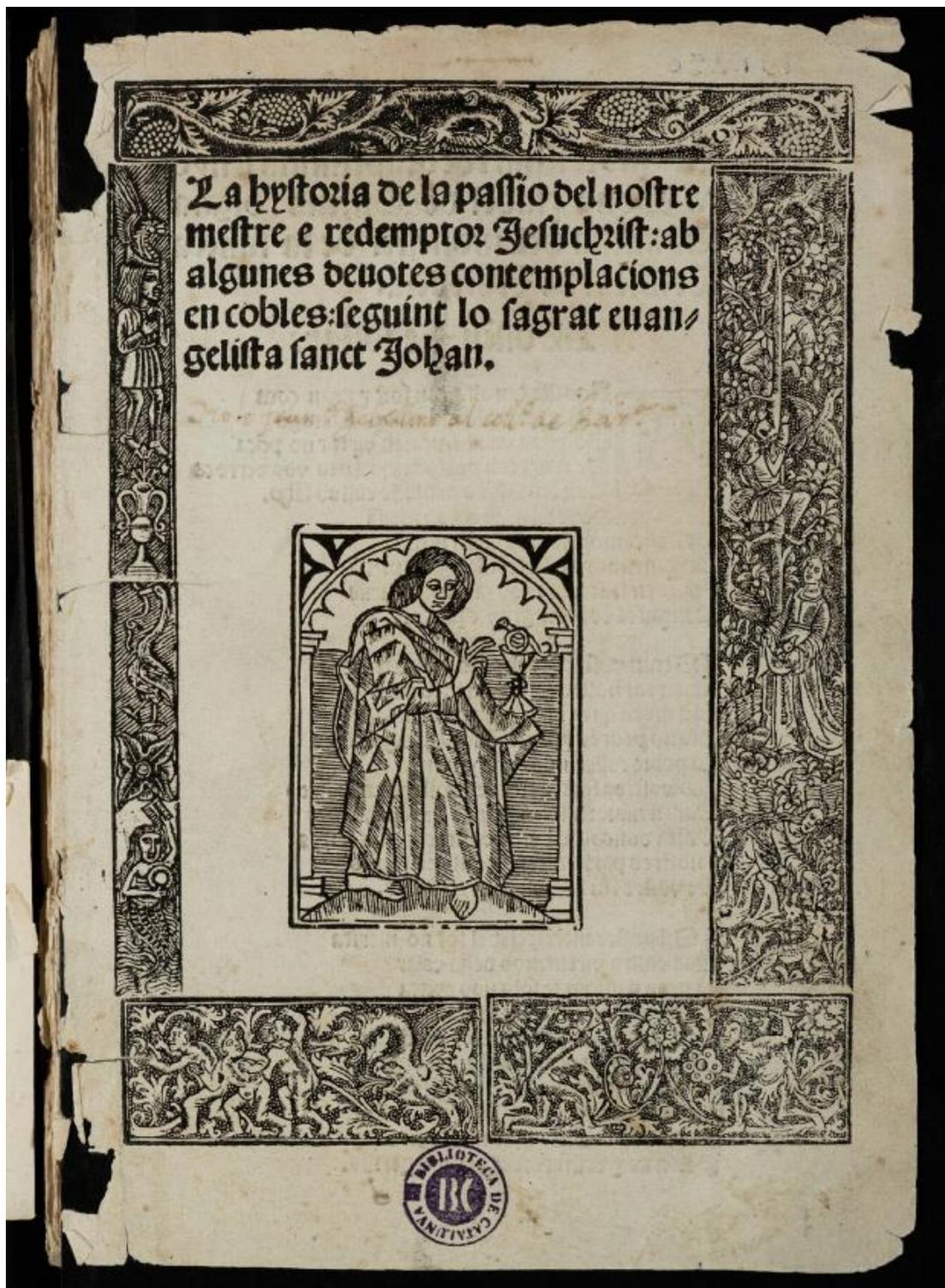


Figure 2-6. Title page from Fenollar, Martines, Scrivà, and Roís de Corella, *La dolorosa*

(Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1518) Fol. 1r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

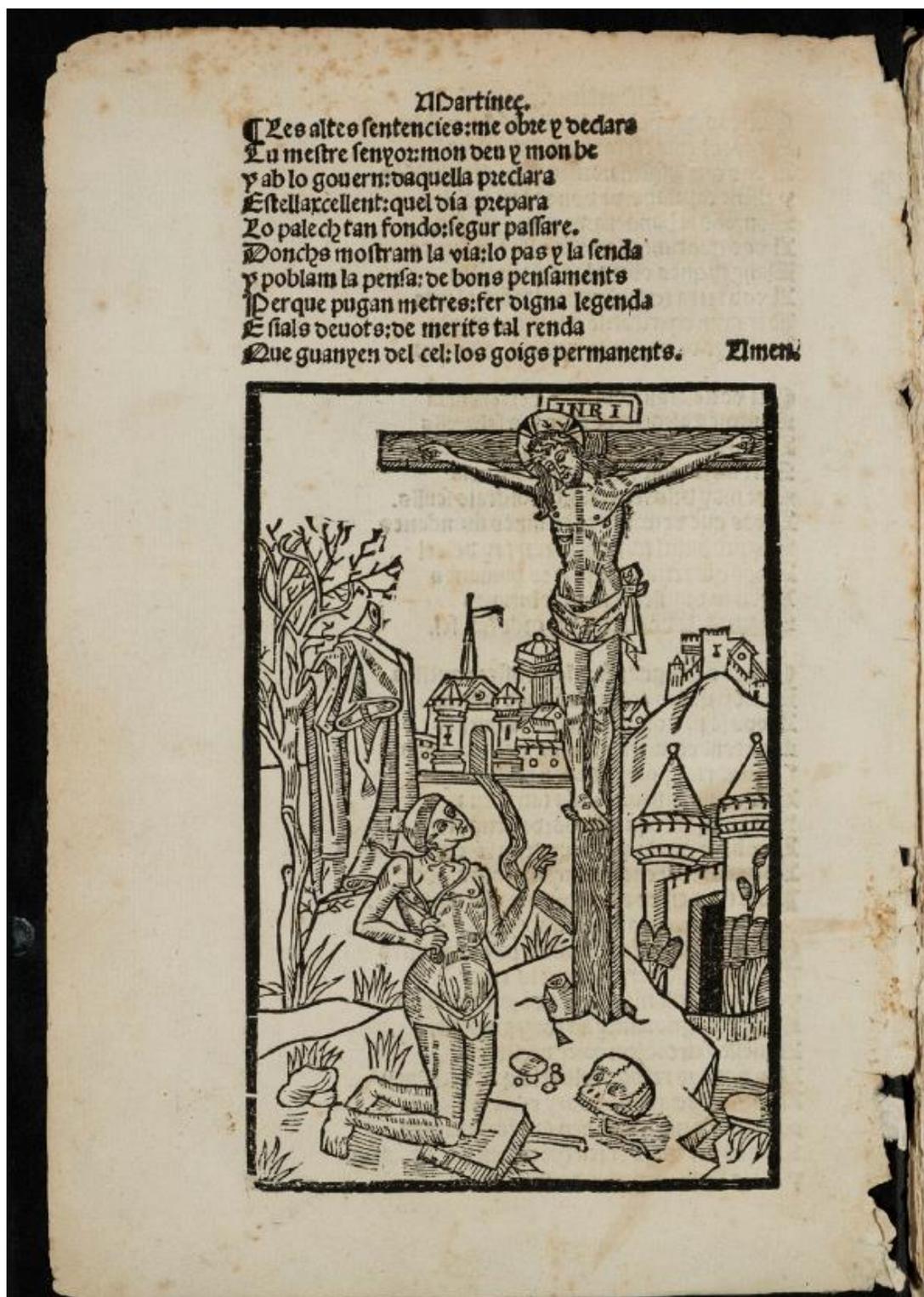


Figure 2-7. Christ and a penitent cleric from Fenollar, Martines, Scrivà, and Roís de Corella, *La dolorosa* (Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1518) Fol. 2v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

fo.

VII

me sperar siēpre q̄ quisiere ser tuyo. ⁊ conel costado abierto/ por me recre
ar/redemir/ ⁊ saluar. La tu eres aq̄l maravilloso phisico/q̄ mundificas ⁊
sanas las lepras. buelues el ver a los ciegos. das conhuerto a los tristes.
hartas ⁊ hazes cōtentos los pobres. ¶ **A**qui señor clemētissimo delāte
tu majestad hare alguna señal de penitencia ⁊ de contricion: pues todo el
mundo redemiste por tu sancta cruz ⁊ passion. ya de aquiadelante pia-



doso señor/ mi vida
no sera sino lloro ⁊
dolor/ suspirar ⁊ ge
mir: ya no me deley
tare/ sino en ver te
puesto en la cruz/ no
escuchare palabras
ningūas q̄ no sean
de tu passio: no ado
rare/ ni reposare/ si
no enel recuerdo ⁊
memoria de tus im
propertos y llagas.
¶ **Q**uien pues glososo
señor me dara fuēte
tan abundosa de la
grimas/ paraq̄ cōri
nuamēte pueda llo
rar tā excessiuos do
lores/ como por mi
peccador quisiste en
tu venerable ⁊ deli
cada persona? **T**u
solo señor/q̄ naciste
de aq̄lla fuente silla
da de tu sanctissima
madre ⁊ siēpre vir
gen maria. **E**n ti so
lo señor piende mi

verdadera caridad/ mi sperāça/ ⁊ mi fe. jamas me partire dela cruz/ porq̄
se maravillē los angeles/ ⁊ los demonios ⁊ mis enemigos se espanten ⁊
tiemblē: ⁊ se aletē de mi. **P**orēde misericordioso señor/ rey delos reyes:
quita de mi toda iniquidad ⁊ pposito de pecar **T**u dulce samaritano: que
cō tu sangre virginal preciosissima/ mundificaste todas las māzillas del
mūdo: alimpia qualq̄r suziedad de mi pēsamiēto/ ⁊ de todas mis obras
A ti rey del cielo ⁊ señor dela tierra endrego yo peccador mi oració ⁊ mis

Figure 2-8. Christ and a penitent cleric from Li, *Thesoro* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494) Fol. 7r.

Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the
Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

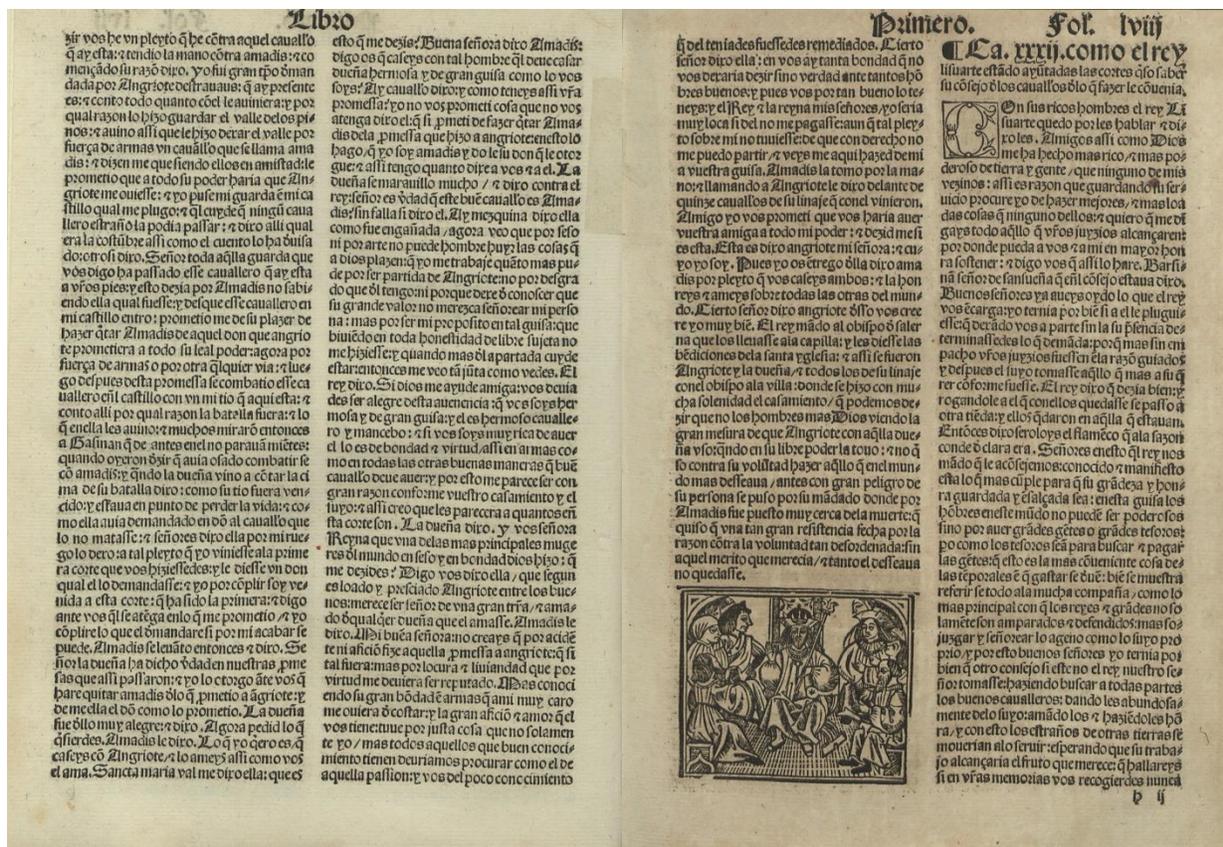


Figure 3-1. Two-folio spread from Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* (Sevilla: Jacobo and Juan Cromberger, 1526) fols. 57v-58r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

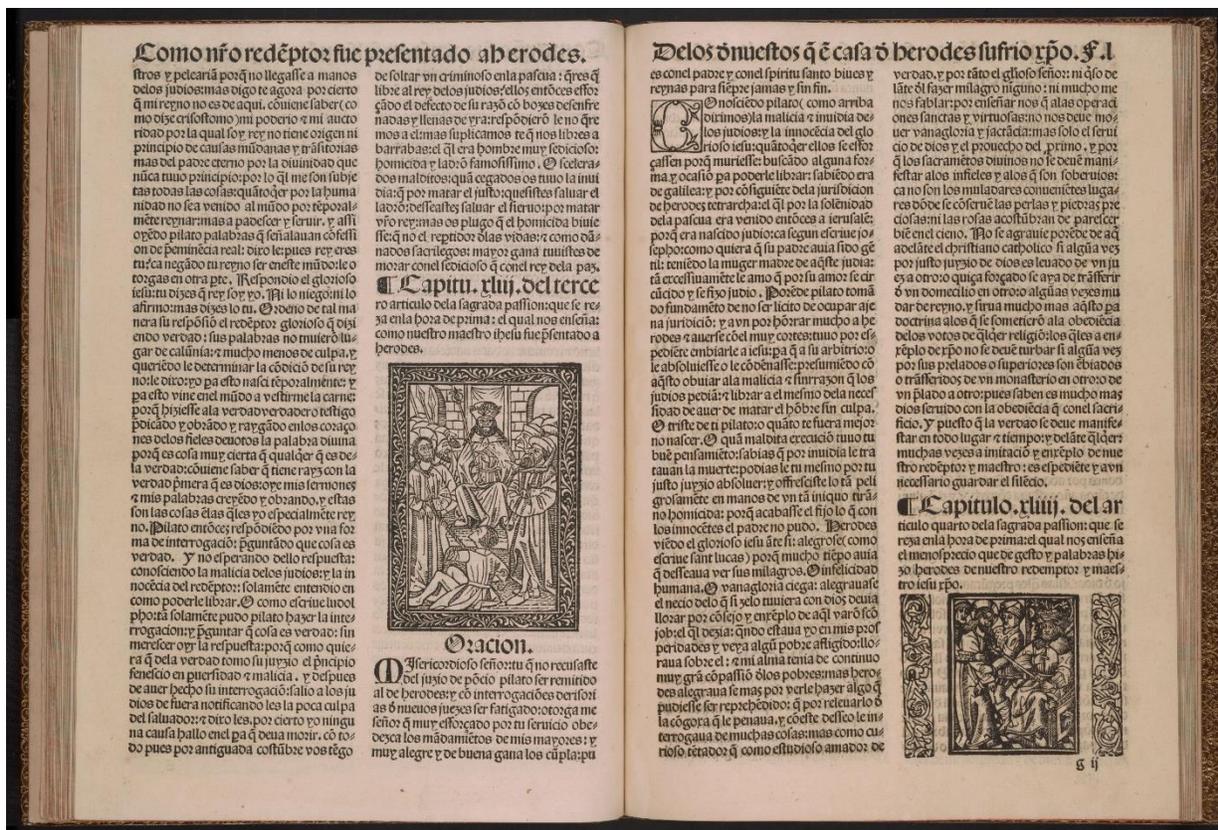


Figure 3-2. Two-folio spread from Li, *Thesoro* (Sevilla: Jacobo and Juan Cromberger, 1517) fols. 49v-50r. Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

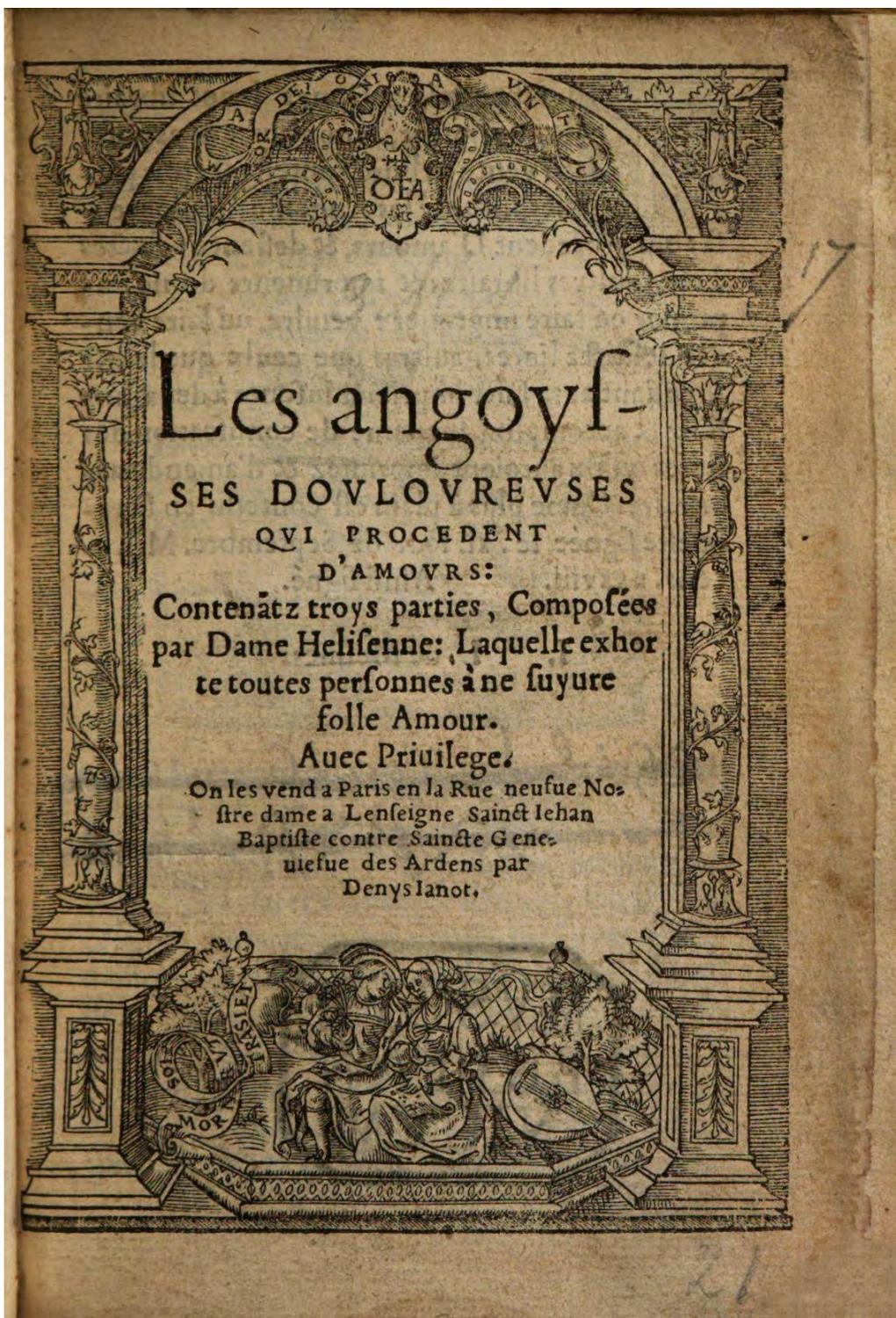


Figure 3-3. Title page from Hélisenne de Crenne, *Les angoysses* (Paris: Denis Janot, [1538])

A1r. Courtesy of the © British Library Board.

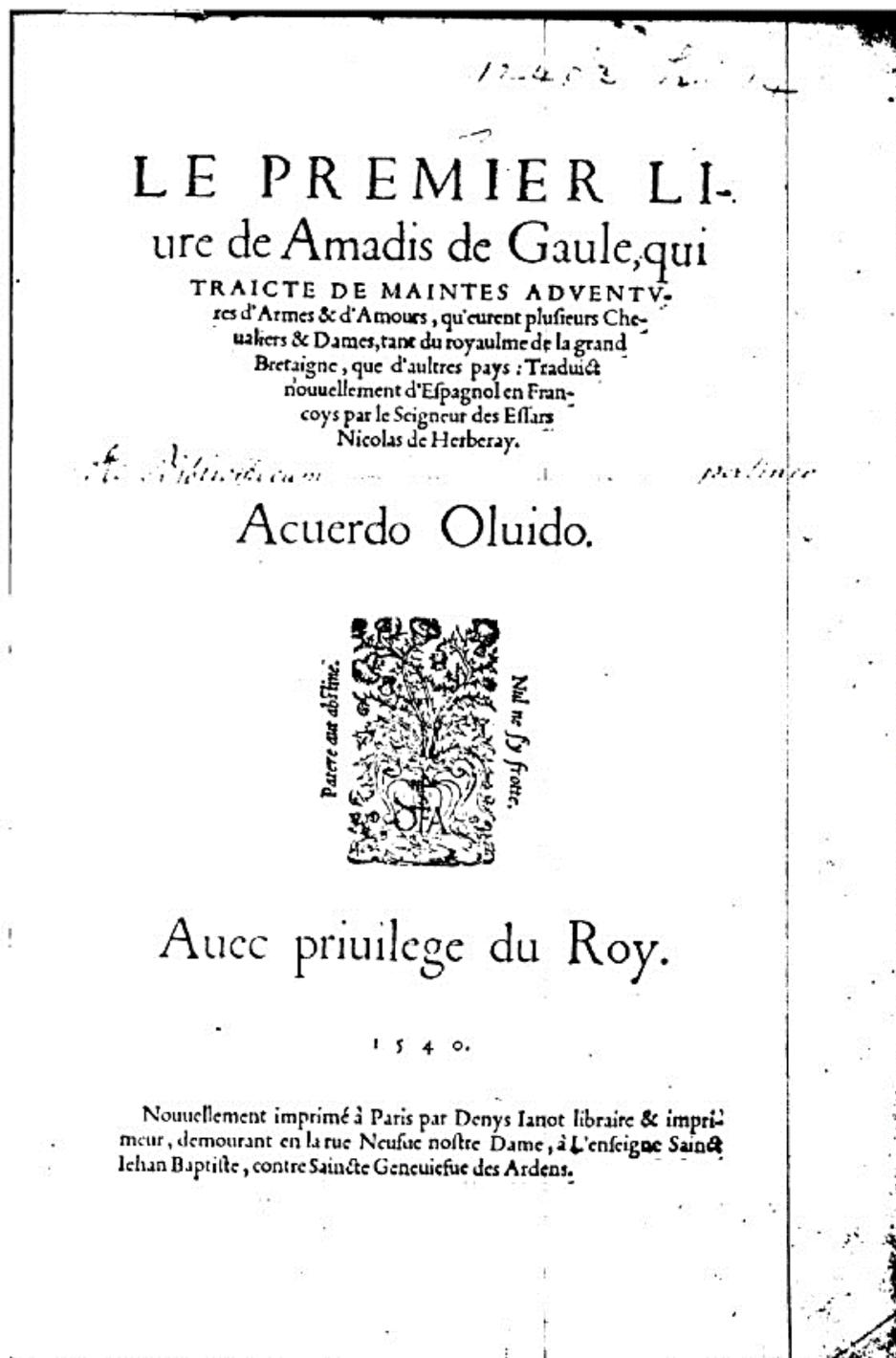


Figure 3-4. Title page from Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540) ã1r. Courtesy of Gallica / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

*L'ÉPISTRE DEDICATIVE DE
 DAME HELISENNE A TOVTES
 honnestes dames, leur donnant hū-
 ble salut. Et les enhorter par icel-
 le à bien & honnestement
 aymer, en euitant toute
 vaine & impudicque
 amour.



LEs anxietez & tristesse des miserables
 (cōme ie peulx penser & coniecturer)
 se diminuent, quand on les peult de-
 clarer à quelque sien amy fidele . Par
 ce que ie suis certaine par moy mesmes, que les
 dames naturelemēt sont inclinées à auoir cōpas-
 sion. C'est à vous mes nobles dames, que ie veulx
 mes extremes douleurs estre cōmunicquées. Car
 i'estime que mon infortune vous prouocquera à
 quelques larmes piteuses : qui me pourra donner
 quelque refrigeration medicamente. Helas quād

A ii

Figure 3-5. Venus woodcut from Hélienne de Crenne, *Les angoysses* (Paris: Denis Janot, [1538]) A2r. Courtesy of the © British Library Board.

& prie le seigneur CVPIDO, qu'avec toutes ses
 forcés vueille esmouoir son cueur pour ne souf-
 frir le nombre de ses adorans diminuer: & soubz
 ceste esperance de l'exaudition de ma priere,
 l'imposeray fin à ma doloieuse cōplaincte, vous
 priant mes dames que vueillez considerer quel
 est ou peult estre mon mal, moy estant prison-
 niere en la fleur de ma ieunesse.

*FIN DV LIVRE.



TReschieres & honorées Dames, admira-
 tion aulcune voz chastes cueurs demouue,
 en considerant dont me procede la hardiesse de
 m'ingerer d'intituler l'œuure presente, faisant
 mention D'amours impudicques, ce que selon
 l'opinion d'aucunes Dames timides, se pourra
 iuger plus digne d'estre conserué en profonde

K. iiⁱ

Figure 3-6. Queen and ladies woodcut from Hélienne de Crenne, *Les angoysses* (Paris: Denis Janot, [1538]) K2r. Courtesy of the © British Library Board.

DE AMADIS DE GAULE Feuillet. IIII.
 Comme l'infante Elisene & sa
 Damoyelle Dariolette s'en allerent en la chambre ou le Roy
 Perion estoit couché. Chapitre. II.



V Enu le temps que chascun plus communément prend repos,
 Dariolette qui pour le contentement de sa maistresse auoit
 fait diligence extreme, vint luy dire: Madame, il est saison
 de paracheuer nostre entreprise, allons si il vous plaist. Quand
 Elisene l'entendit, croyez qu'elle ne donna occasion d'estre
 reprise de paresse, ains se leua hastuement, & sans tarder
 iecta seulement vng manteau sur ses espauls, & se mist à chemin, puis
 entrerent elles deux au iardin. Le temps estoit lors gracieux & ferein, la
 lune belle & luyfante, qui donnoit clarté aux deux damoyelles. Mais cer-
 tes l'une auoit plus d'occasion d'estre contente que l'autre, qui eust tresuo-
 luntiers pris ce bien, ou vng semblable pour elle mesme, si elle en eust eu
 moyen, & tant en donnoit de cognoissance, que Elisene voyoit bien,
 qu'il n'y auoit faulte que de executeur pour y satisfaire, car ceste Dario-
 lette, sentant en son esperit l'ayse prochain, que debuoit recevoir cel-
 le, qu'elle conduisoit, ne se pouoit tenir de luy manier, puis les retins,
 puis les cuysles & quel que chose d'aduantage, & de trop vehemente ar-
 deur souspiroit souuent, tout ainsi que si elle eust deu participer à ce bien
 futur de la princesse Elisene, à laquelle elle disoit: Helas madame, que heu-
 reux est le prince, par lequel vous receurez ceste nuit tant de plaisir.

A iiii Vous

Figure 3-7. Chapter Two from Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Le premier livre de Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1540) Fol. 4r. Courtesy of Gallica / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

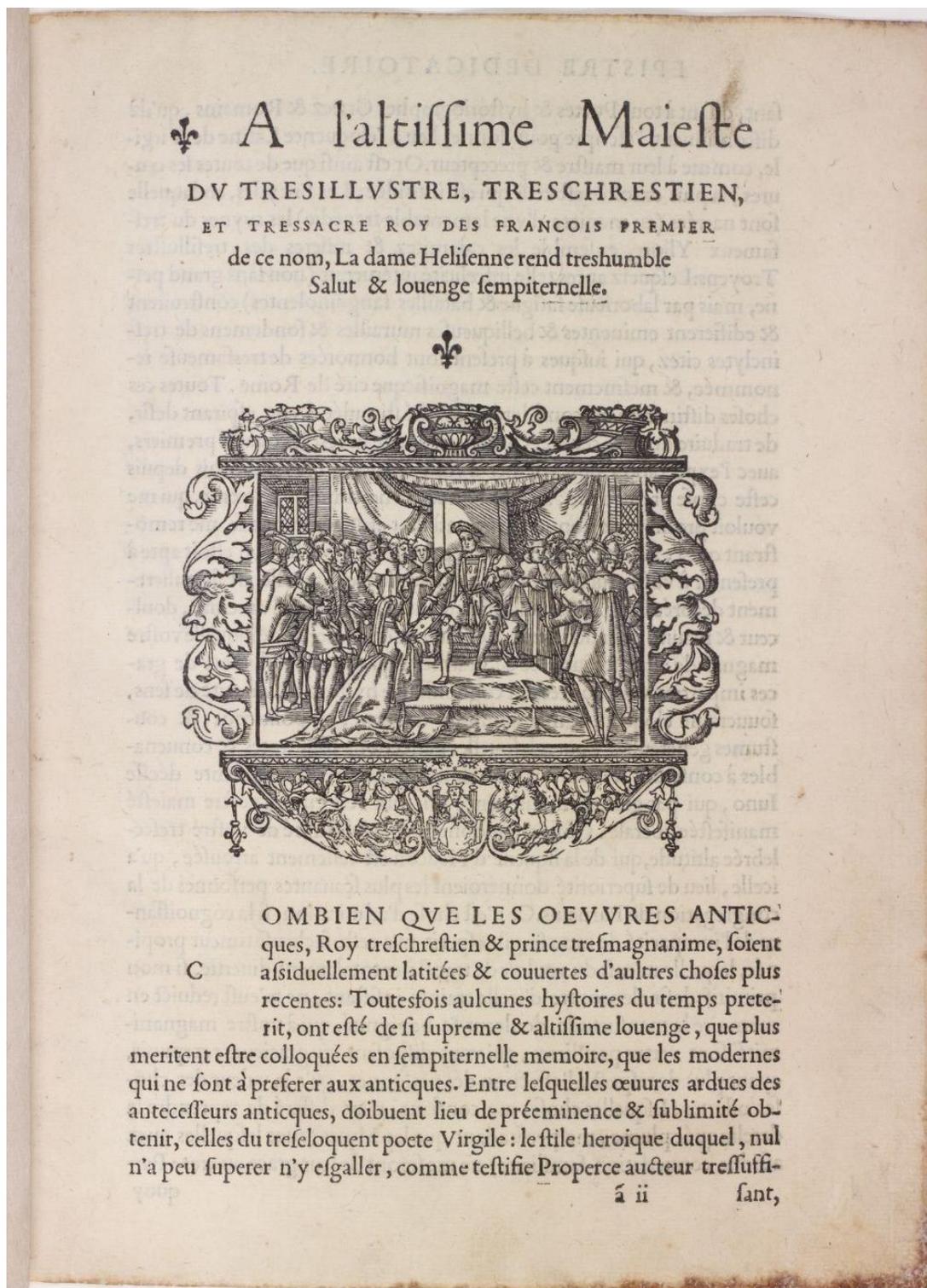


Figure 3-8. Dedication from Virgil, *Les quatre premiers livres des Eneydes* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1542) ã2r. Courtesy of Gallica / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

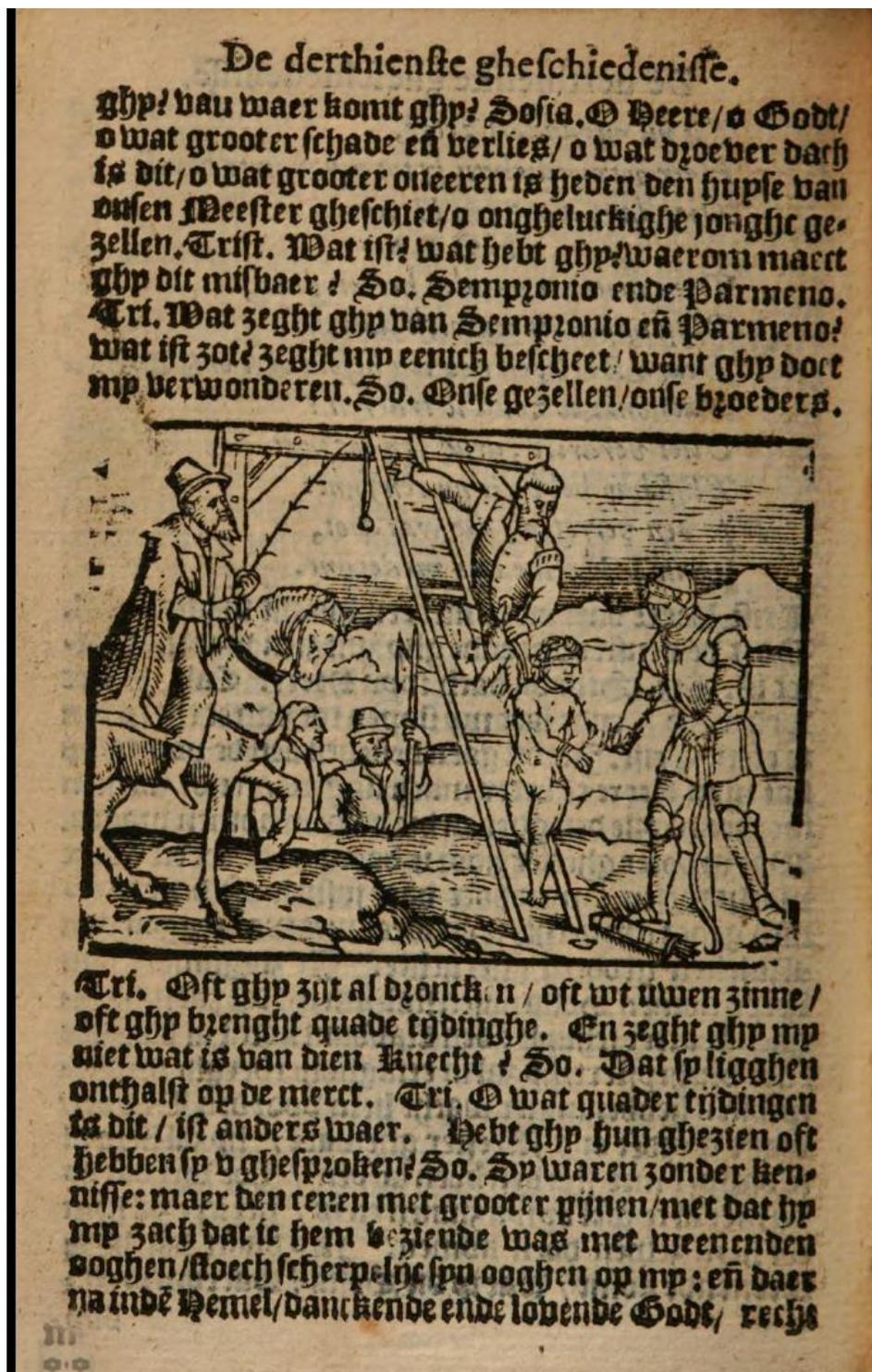


Figure 4-1. Execution scene from Fernando de Rojas, *Een Tragicomedie van Calisto ende*

Melibeia (Antwerp: Heyndric Heyndricz, 1616) N7v. Courtesy of the © British Library Board.

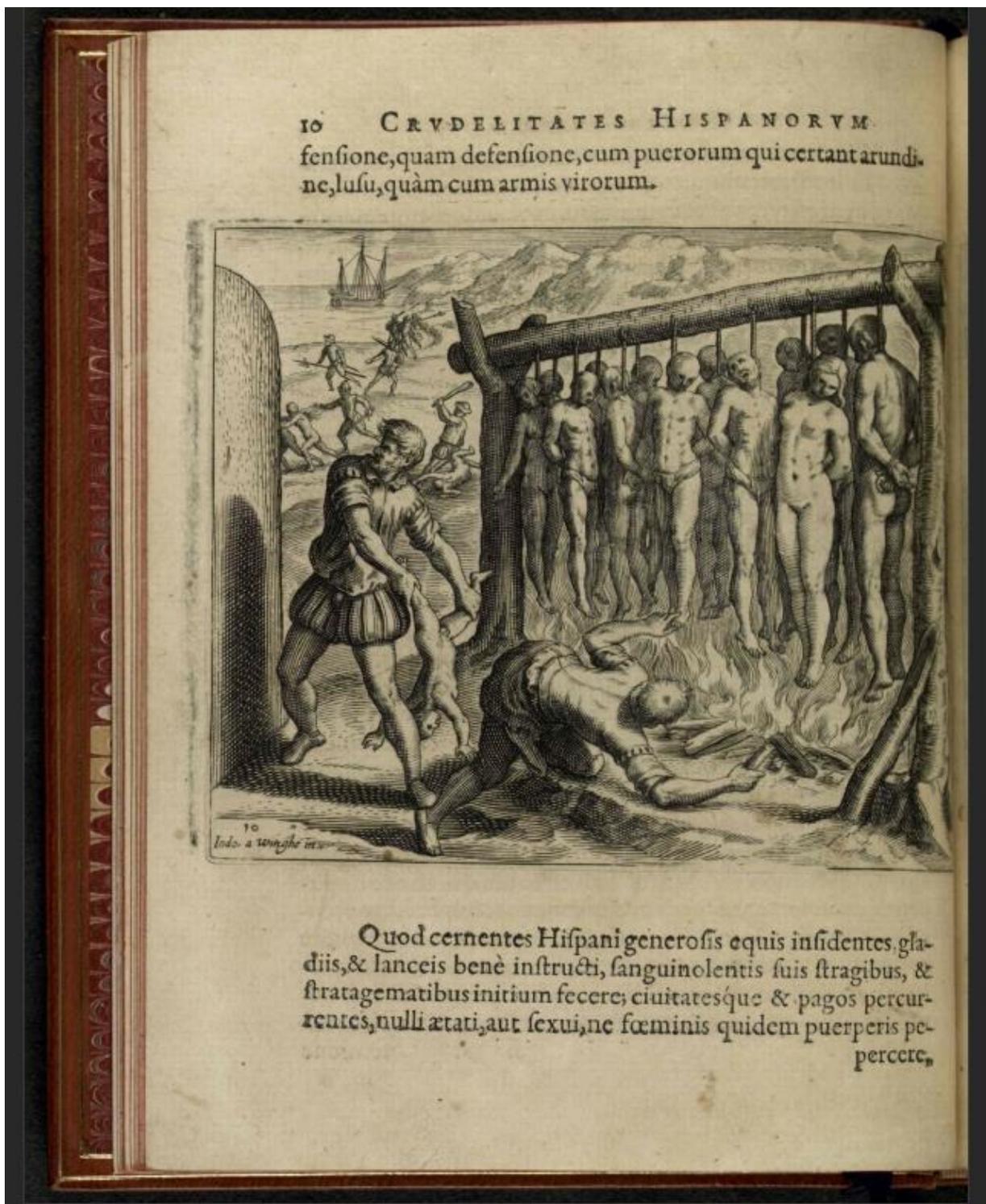


Figure 4-2. Gallows scene from Las Casas, *Narratio verissima*. (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598) 23. Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Et cum palo affixus esset, quidam monachus Ordinis S. Francisci, vir sanctus, ipsi aliqua de Deo, & nostræ fidei articulis verba fecit, quæ nunquam audiuerat, & quæ ad id tempus, quod à carnifice concedebatur, sufficiebant, illi æternam gloriam, & quietem, si crederet, sin minus æterna supplicia, promittens: Postquam Hathuey cogitabundus aliquandiu hæsisset, à monacho petijt: Vtrum etiam Hispanis cœlorum ianua pateret?
Cui

Figure 4-3. Hatuey from Las Casas, *Narratio verissima*. (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598) 23.

Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

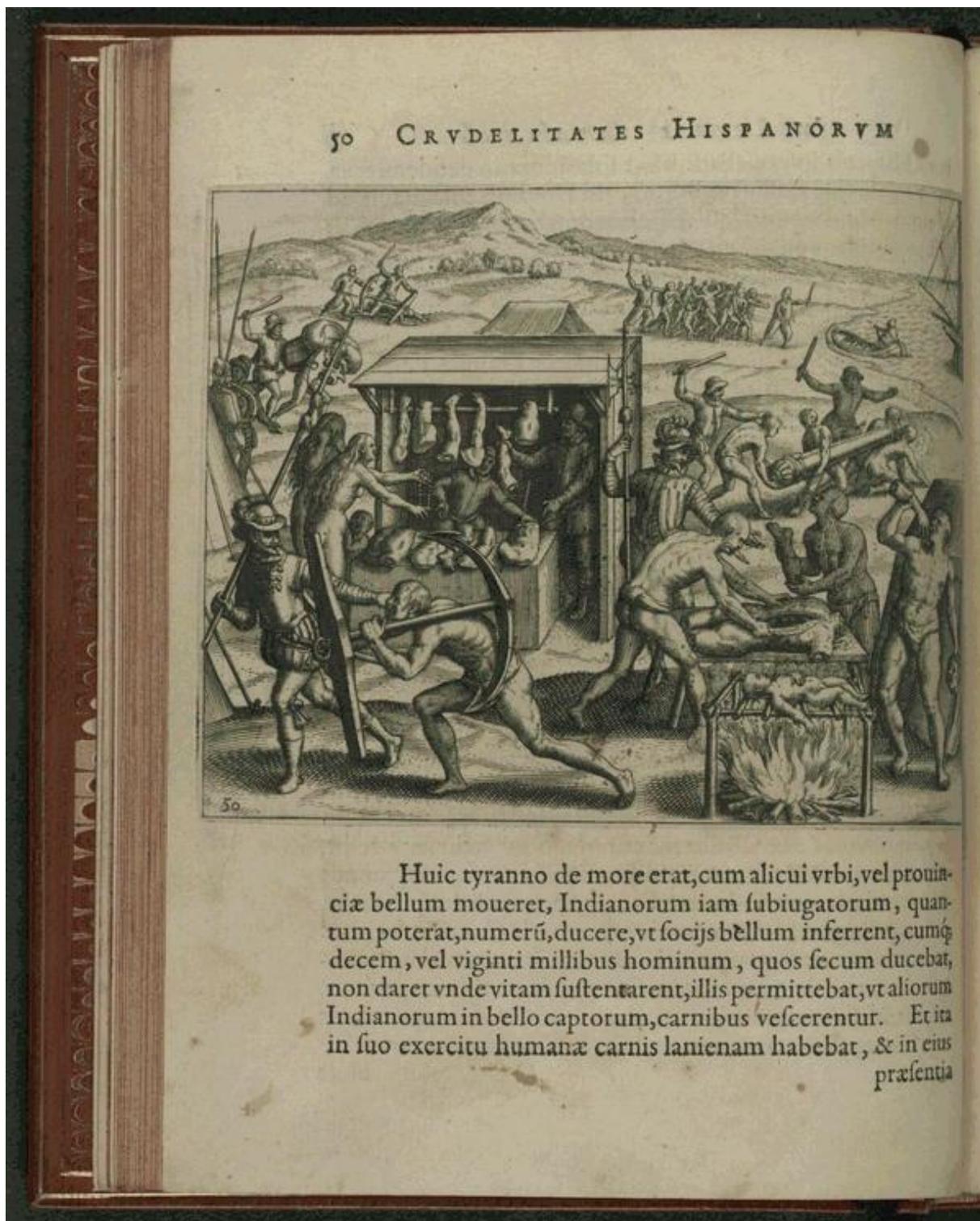


Figure 4-4. "Market" of human flesh from Las Casas, *Narratio verissima*. (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598) 50. Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

IIIY XXXI

tencia verdaderamēte muy espātosa 7 cruel: la qual cō tan excessiua hu-
 mildad 7 afectiō deuotissima/ recibio por nosotros el glorioso jesus/ en al-
 guna manera tuuierō fin 7 termino todas las cosas q̄ arriba diximos. 7
 p̄meramēte dio fin a n̄ros trabajos/ pues la tierra d̄ n̄ros cuerpos no p̄-
 duze ya spinas ni cardos d̄ vicios: mas purgada por los merecimiētos
 d̄ la sangre p̄ciosa q̄ por amor derramo por nosotros el redētor de huma-
 na natura: obra 7 produce fruto de virtuosas operaciones: ca el piado-
 so jesus en aq̄sta sentēcia q̄so pagar la culpa de todos n̄ros pecados: co-
 mo el bienauenturado sant pedro lo escriue: hermanos vna vegada mu-
 rior̄ x̄po justissimo por nosotros injustos/ 7 por n̄ros pecados: porq̄ nos
 ofreciēse a dios amortiguados en la carne 7 viuificados en el sp̄u. Segū
 damēte cabio n̄ra maldiciō: como lo testigua sant pablo: plugole ser por
 nosotros maldicho: porq̄ nos librasse de maldicion. Terceramēte reuo-
 co n̄ro destierro: quido por aq̄sta sentēcia los labradores echarō dela vi-
 sia dela ley mosayca el hijo de su seņor/ 7 le matarō: como escriue matheo
 por lo q̄ fue necesario q̄ perdiēse los malos/ 7 reduxiēse los que estauā
 huydos 7 desterrados. Quartamēte puso fin ala muerte: porque ya no
 hay peligro ningūo de dānacion para los q̄ redimio cō su muerte: pues
 lo que nunca tomo/ le plugo pagar por nosotros.

La. liiij. del tercero ar-
 ticulo dela sagrada passiō/ que
 se reza en la hora de sexta: el q̄
 nos enseña con quan crescida
 paciēcia leuo el misericordioso
 jesus sobre sus hombros la cruz
 para q̄ en ella muriesse.

Oracion



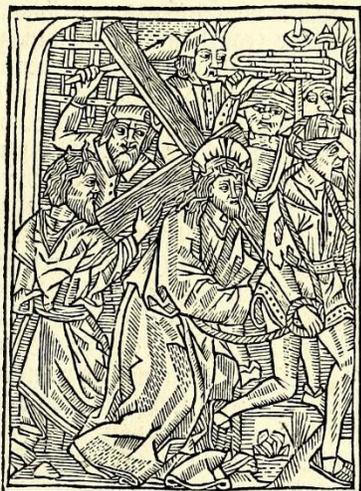
Ijesu poderoso/
 pues allende de
 morir por nosotros
 por descargar con la
 cruz el peso de n̄ros
 peccados/ te plugo
 esforcar tu cansacio
 para leuarla encima
 de ti/ porq̄ nos sirui-
 esse por: estādarte de
 tu gloriosa victoria: esfuerca seņor de tal bues mi flaqueza/ q̄ re-
 negando todo lo mūdano 7 transitorio juntamente conmigo/ cō ella
 puesta en los hōbros basta render el alma en tus manos/ te cōfue-
 lle siempre 7 te siga: pues con el padre zc.



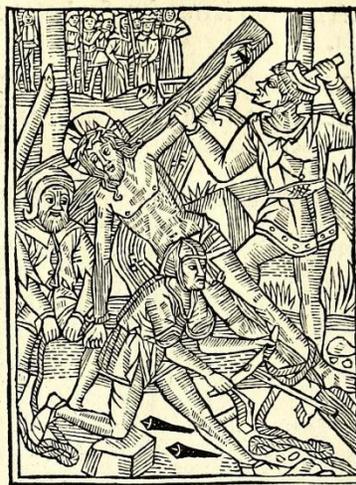
Figure 4-5. Christ carries the cross from Li, *Thesoro* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494) Fol. 88v.

Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the
 Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

La passion.



ñian y lamentauan sobre el. Voluio a ellas ihesu z dixoles. sfijas de iherusalem nõ cureys de llozar sobre mí: mas sobre vosotras llozad y sobre vros fijos. La sabed q̄ vernã dias en q̄ dirã. Biẽ auẽturadas las mañeras y los viẽtres que nõ concubierõ: y las retas q̄ nõ dieron leche. y entonçe comẽcarã a dezir y rogar a los montes. Laed mõtes sobre nos: z a los collados cobrãd nos. La si enel verde palo esto se fazẽ: enel seco q̄ se fara. Leuauã conel otros dos malfechores para los sentenciar. y llegaron al lugar q̄ dizen golgota q̄ es el monte caluari. y dierõle vino con misa y mezclado cõ fiel. z deque le houo gustado nõ quiso beuer. z crucificarõle ay y los ladrones cõel: el vno ala diẽstra y el otro ala siniẽstra: z ihesu en medio. E fue entõçe la escriptura: cõplida que dize. y con los malfechores el fue contado. E dezia ihũ. Padre perdona los: q̄ nõ sabẽ que se fazẽ. Escriuio entõçe pilato el titulo de su causa: y pufole sobre la



cruz: y encima dela cabeça de ihesu. y era el sobre escripto q̄ estaua sobre ihesu escripto en letras griegas latinas z ebraycas: z dezia. Ihesu nazareno rey delos judios. Aduchos delos judios leyeron aqueste titulo porq̄ cerca dela çibdad estaua el lugar en q̄ le hauian crucificado. Dezian pues los obispos delos judios a pilato. No quieras tal escreuir ni poner rey dlos judios: mas que el dixo rey soy delos judios. Respõdio pilato. Lo q̄ escreui escreui. Des pues q̄ le houierõ los caualleros crucificado: tomarõ sus vestidos z fizieron dellos quatro partes z a cadaqual dieron la suya: y a cadaql vn vestido. mas de vna saya q̄ quedaua que no tenia costura: mas era por encima texida por todo. dixieron entre si: nõ la cortemos mas echemos suertes sobre cuya sera. porq̄ se cõpliesse la escriptura que dize. Repartieronse ellos entre si mis vestidos: y sobre mi saya echaron suertes. Esto fizieron los caualleros entonçe

iiij

Figure 4-6. Christ carries the cross from [Gerson], *La passion* (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, [1493]) Fol. 2³r. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

Ca. l.j. del articulo ter
 cero dela sagrada passion de
 nro redētor ⁊ maestro jesus q̄
 se reza en la hora de tertia/ el
 q̄l nos enseña/ quā despiada-
 mēte ⁊ cruel el glioso jesus fue
 agotado.

Oracion



Quēntis-
 ſimo padre ⁊
 ſeño: muy piado-
 ſo/ tu q̄ por rede-
 mur todo el mūdo
 cufriſte ſer arado
 a vna colūpna/ y
 ende ſer de tal for-
 ma acorado: q̄ de
 de la plāta del pie
 falta la cūbre dīa
 cabeza en ti no ſe



ballaſſa ſalud: otorga me gracia ſeño/ q̄ con mucha humildad ⁊
 paciencia/ reciba los acores de tu paternal correccion: ⁊ q̄ cō los deſordenes de
 mi inobediencia/ no fatigues ni agrauē tu mageſtad ſacraſiſſima: pues cō el padre
 ⁊ cō el ſpiritu ſanto ⁊c.

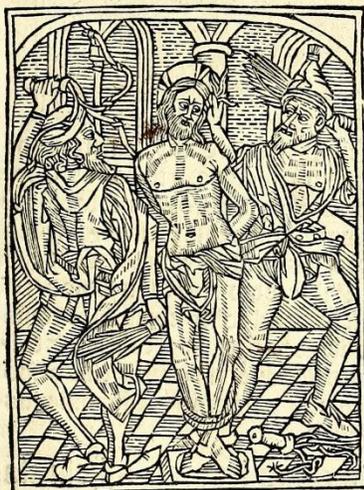
Como ya el piadoſo jesus eſtūieſſe deſnudo delāte pilato/ mā-
 dole cruelmēte acores/ cōſiderando (como arriba diximos)
 pues cō las deſenfrenadas bozes de los judios/ no podia ha-
 llar manera pa librārle: aq̄randole la cōſciencia de otra pre de
 no matar el hōbre innocēte: tomo por eſpediēte aq̄ſte caſtigo: preſumiē-
 do q̄ ſi jeles demoſtraſſe aſſi maltratado y eſcarnecido: q̄ amañarian la
 yra y el odio q̄ cōtra el demoſtrauā. ⁊ por eſta cauſa (como ſcriue augu-
 ſtino) pmitio ⁊ mado pilato a ſus caualleros ⁊ a todos los de ſu caſa/ q̄
 eſcarneciēſſen ⁊ maltrataſſen la perſona del redēpto: glorioſo. ⁊ por rā-
 to diſe el meſmo bienauēturado auguſtino/ q̄ pilato le mado acores: no
 por le perſeguir: mas por ſatiſfazer al furor de ſus enemigos. **L**a q̄ſto
 era lo q̄ ſcriuio yſayas: mi perſona ofreci a los q̄ me perſiguieron: ⁊ mis
 quitadas a los que me maltrataron. **P**ilato pilato/ engañoſa cubier-
 ta de eſcuſacion tuuo tu pēſamiēto: pues por ello no podias eſcuſar te de
 culpa/ ca no ignorauas q̄ ſomos obligados de cufrir todos los males dī
 mundo antes q̄ cōſentir en vn mal/ ni ſe deue hazer el mal/ porq̄ venga
 del algun bien. ⁊ pueſto que tu buena intencion te pudiera eſcuſar algū
 tanto: no te pudo eſcuſar por entero de culpa: pues eſ cierto q̄ lo que eſ
 malo por ſi nūca la buena intencion enteramēte le pudo tornar bueno.

Figure 4-7. Scourging of Christ from Li, *Thesoro* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494) Fol. 77v.

Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the
 Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

La passion.

dios. **D**ieron voces todos y dixieron. **N**o a este mas a baxtabas. y era baxtabas vn ladrón que por vn alborozo que hauiá mouido en la cibdad y por vn omeçido q̄ hauiá fecho le hauiá echado en la carçel. Pilato entonce fablo les otra vez deles q̄rer soltar a ihū. Ellos dixerón voces y dixierō. **L**rucificalle crucificalle **D**ixō entōçe tercera vez pilato y que mal ha fecho: yo causa de muerte en el nō la fallo: mas yo os le castigare y soltare despues. **T**omole entonce pilato y mandole açotar. **E** fizieron sus



oficiales vna corona d̄ espinas y pusieron gela sobre la cabeça: y vistieronle de purpura. y venianse para el y dezianle. **S**aluo te dios **R**ey delos judios: y dauale de bofetadas. Salio pues otra vez a ellos fuera pilato y dixoles. **V**edes aquí que os le trayo aca fuera: porque sintays que ninguna causa en el fallo de muerte. Salio entonce ihū la corona de espinas puesta en la cabeça y cōel vestido de purpura: y dixoles

pilato. **V**eyd aq̄ el hōbre. **E**n viendolo tal los obispos y tan biē sus criados le uantarō las voces y dixierō. **L**rucificalle le crucificalle. **D**ixoles pilato. tomadle vosotros y crucificalle: que yo causa de muerte en el nō la fallo. **R**espōdieron los judios y dixierō **N**os ley tenemos y segū nra ley el deue morir: porq̄ hijo de dios se fizo. **E**n oyēdo esta razō pilato: temio mucho mas y entro en su audiecia otra vez: y dixo a ihesu. **D**onde eres tu. **I**hū nō le respōdio **D**ixole pilato. y ami nō me fablas. nō sabes tu q̄ tēgo yo poder para te crucificar y para soltar te. **R**espōdiole ihesu. **T**u nō tienes poder alguno cōtra mí si d̄ affiba por dios nō te fuesse dado. y porēde el q̄ me puso en tus manos tiene mayor culpa. y de ay adelāte queria soltarle pilato: mas los judios a voces dezian **S**i a este soltares nō eres amigo de cesar. que qualq̄er q̄ se faze rey es cōtrario d̄ cesar. **P**ilato que oyo estas razones saco fuera a ihū y assentose por tribunal: en el logar q̄ dizē en griego: licostratos y en ebrayco: gabata o golgora. y era entonce viernes de pascua y q̄si ora de sexta. y dixo a los judios: vedes aq̄ vtro rey. **E**llos a voces dezian. **Q**uitale q̄ta le y crucificalle. **D**ixoles pilato. y a vtro rey crucificalle. **R**espōdieron los obispos **N**o tenemos rey sino a cesar. y acufauale de muchas cosas los soberanos sacerdotes y mas ancianos del pueblo y el nō respōdia. **P**regūtole otra vez y dixo pilato **D**yes d̄ q̄ntas cosas te acusan y nada respōdes **I**hū entōçe respōdiale menos: rāto q̄ se marauillasse mucho el presidente pilato. **E**ra de costumbre d̄ les soltar cada pascua pilato vno delos presos qualquier que pidiesse. y estaua entōçe en la carçel vno que lla

ij

Figure 4-8. Scourging of Christ from [Gerson], *La passion* (Burgos: Fadrigue de Basilea, [1493])

Fol. 2^r. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

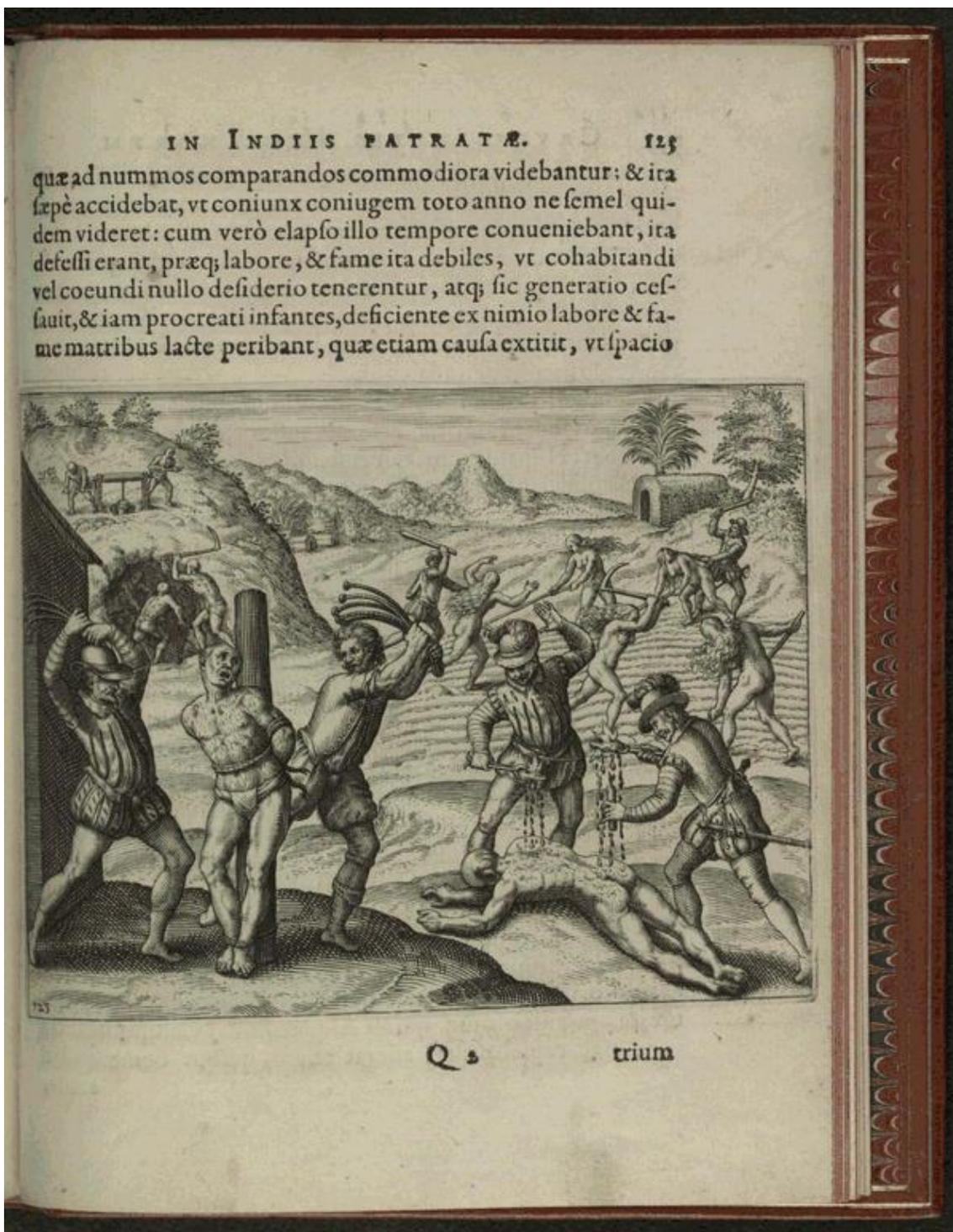


Figure 4-9. Scourging of an indigenous man from Las Casas, *Narratio verissima*. (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598) 123. Courtesy of the Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

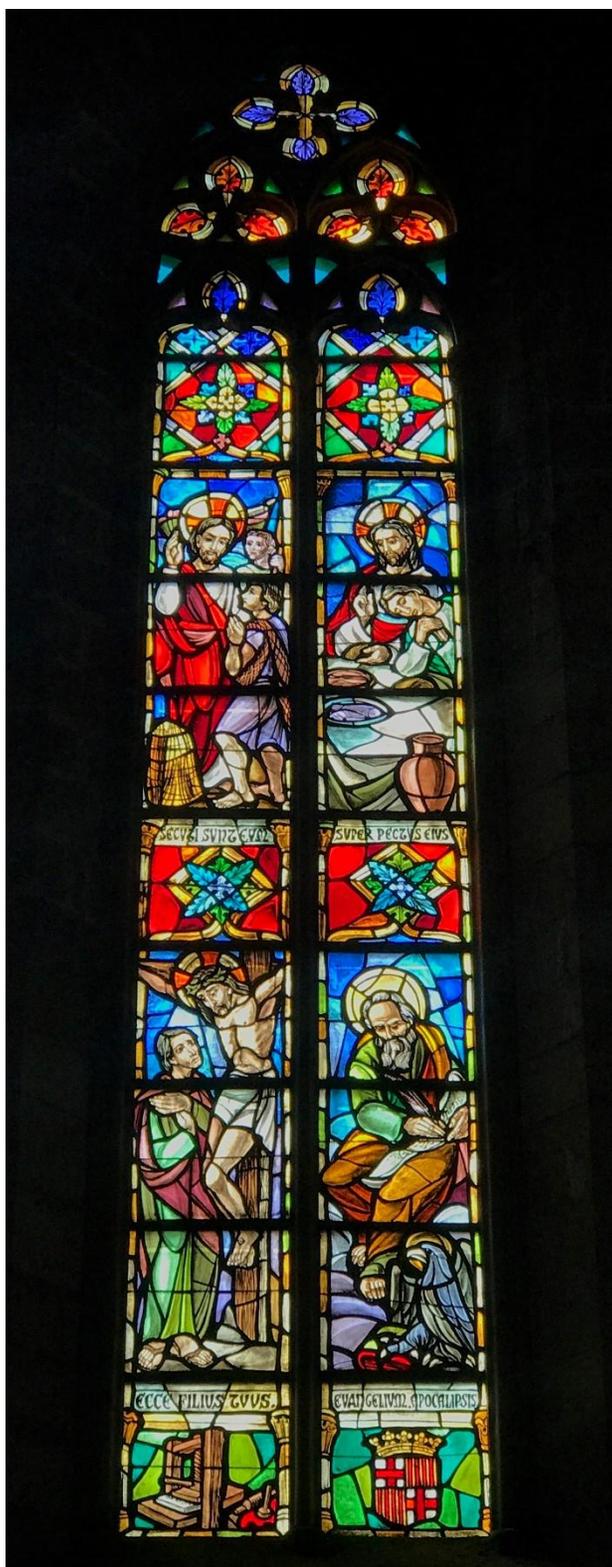


Figure 5-1. Stained-glass window in Chapel 30 of Santa Maria del Mar, Barcelona, Spain.

Photograph by Beth Ivers.

Table and Appendices

Table 1.

Common woodcut illustrations in *Thesoro*, *Viaje*, *La passion*, and *La dolorosa*

Woodcut	<i>Thesoro</i>	<i>Viaje</i>	<i>La passion</i>	<i>La dolorosa</i>
Crucifix with cleric	7r		-	2v
Washing of feet	31v		1 ⁶ r	
Gethsemane	38v		1 ⁷ v	
Arrest	44v, 46v, 51r		1 ⁷ v	
Pilate	53v, 66r		1 ⁸ r, 1 ⁸ v, 2 ¹ v	
Scourging	77v		2 ² r	
Crown of thorns	61r, 79r, 80r, 82r		2 ² v	
Road to Calvary	88v, 90v		2 ³ r	
Raising of the cross	93r		2 ³ r	
Deposition	112v	64v	2 ⁴ v	60v (reversed)
Burial	114v		2 ⁴ v	

Appendix 1.

Transcription of “The Seven Prayers of Gregory the Great” from Antoine Vérard (ed.),

Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Sarum (Paris: Antoine Vérard, c. 1505)

Fols. 95v-96v. The Royal Danish Library, shelfmark Perg. Haun. 19.

Adoro te domine iesu christe in cruce pendentem et coronam spineam in capite portantem
deprecor te domine iesu christe ut crux tua liberet me ab angelo percuciente. Amen. Pater
noster.¹²⁷

Adoro te domine iesu christe in cruce vulneratum felle et aceto potatum deprecor te
domine iesu xriste ut tua vulnera tua [sic] remedium anime mee. Pater noster. Ave maria.

Adoro te domine iesu xriste in sepulchro positum mirra et aromatibus conditum deprecor
te domine iesuchriste ut mors tua sit vita mea. Pater noster.

¹²⁷ For this transcription, I have expanded the abbreviations and preserved the original spelling, not adding modern diacritical marks or punctuation.

Adoro te domine iesu xriste descendentem ad inferos liberantemque captiuos deprecor te ne illuc permittas me illuc introire. Amen. Pater noster.

Adoro te domine iesu christe resurgentem a mortuis et ascendentem ad celos sedentemque ad dexteram patris deprecor te miserere mei. Pater noster. Ave maria.

O domine ihesu christe pastor bone iustos conserua, peccatores iustifica, et omnibus fidelibus miserere et propicius esto michi miserrimo peccatori. Pater noster.

O domine iesu christe rogo te propter illam maximam amaritudinem passionis tue quam sustinuisti propter me in cruce et maxime quando anima tua nobilissima egressa est de corpore tuo sanctissimo miserere ergo anime mee in egressu suo. Amen. Pater noster. Ave. Credo.

Appendix 2.

Woodcuts in the British Library's digital facsimile of *Les angoyssees douloureuses qui procedent d'amours* (Paris: Denis Janot [1538]), shelfmark BL C58.cc.21.

Part One from Edition B (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 264)

Signature	Rawles's Numbering	Description
A2r	H01	Venus with Cupid
A2v	H04*	Woman holding book
A3r	C003	Woman with grapevines
A5v	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
A7r	CU04*	Cupid shoots arrow at woman
B1v	P16*	Couple, woman opens door
B2v	H05*	Couple upstairs, man with sword
B4v	CU12*	Woman, man points finger
B6r	P04*	Woman at balcony, man below
B8v	P08*	Throned woman receives man's note
C5r	CU05*	Woman at table, man enters
C6r	P03*	Man hands note to woman
D1r	P18*	Woman clasped hands, man with hand raised

D5r	H06	Lucretia stabs herself
D8v	H07*	Monk and woman
E3v	H08	Standing man and woman with note
E6r	P03*	Man hands woman note
E6v	H07*	Monk and woman
F3v	CU05*	Woman at table, man enters
F5v	CU03*	Mixed group, window at center
F8r	H33*	Couple at left, couple in cloud at right
G5v	P08*	Throned woman receives man's note
H3v	P03*	Man hands note to woman
H5r	CU05*	Woman at table, man enters
K2r	CU19	Queen with ladies

*Used more than once

Part Two from Edition B (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 264)

Signature	Rawles's Numbering	Description
AA2r	H04*	Woman holding book
AA4r	M03*	Woman with lute, man with hawk
AA6r	H11	Judgment of Paris
AA6v	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
AA8v	P18*	Woman clasped hands, man with hand raised
BB5r	H12	Two knights sword fight
BB8r	H27*	Banquet, man swims to ship
CC1r	H14*	Man at tree, crowd
CC2v	H15*	Men under arch
CC3r	H16	Actaeon and Diana
CC4v	H17*	King in bed, women at pillars, ship
DD4r	H18*	Men play horns, siege

DD5r	CU18*	Small prince with crowd
DD7v	H19*	Two knights joust
EE3v	H05*	Couple upstairs, man with sword
EE5r	CU18*	Small prince with crowd
EE8v	H04*	Woman holding book
FF3r	G04*	Man attacks, king and queen with assassin
FF4v	G08	King behind curtain, men at table
FF5v	H15*	Men under arch
GG3v	H20*	Ship, men with tools
GG5v	H21*	Cupid at center with man
HH4v	H38	Mixed group suspended from strings
HH8r	H17*	King in bed, women at pillars, ship
II1r	H23*	Group fight, style 1
II1v	H18*	Men play horns, siege
II2v	H24	Army with canon
II4r	H14*	Man at tree, crowd
II5v	H25	King, man hanging over pig
KK1v	CU05*	Woman at table, man enters
KK2v	H19*	Two knights joust
KK4r	G04*	Man attacks, king and queen with assassin
KK5v	H15*	Men under arch
KK6v	H27*	Banquet, man swims to ship
KK7v	H20*	Ship, men with tools
LL1v	H18*	Men play horns, siege
LL2v	H28	King surrounded by men; pillar and tower
LL3v	H14*	Man at tree, crowd
LL4v	H20*	Ship, men with tools
LL5r	H29	King enthroned, queen and court

LL6r	CU18*	Small prince with crowd
LL6v	CU14*	Kneeling queen with king, crowd
LL8r	CU05*	Woman at table, man enters
MM1v	P05	Seated man and woman with letter
MM3r	M06	Throned king accepts object from man

*Used more than once

Part Three from Edition A (Rawles, *Denis Janot* no. 263)

Signature	Rawles's Numbering	Description
²A3r	H20*	Ship, men with tools
²A4r	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
²A5r	P04*	Woman at balcony, man below
²A6r	CU03*	Mixed group, window at center
²A8v	H27*	Banquet, man swims to ship
²B4v	CU18*	Small prince with crowd
²B5v	H27*	Banquet, man swims to ship
²B6v	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
²B7v	P08*	Throned woman receives man's note
²B8v	H30	Kneeling man, horse, fountain
²C3r	CU14*	Kneeling queen with king, crowd
²C3v	P08*	Throned woman receives man's note
²C4v	G01	Woman with daughter, king, priest, corpse
²C5v	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
²C6v	P04*	Woman at balcony, man below
²D1v	P03*	Man hands note to woman
²D3r	H31*	Woman with Mercury
²D4r	H32*	Ship, mounted man, tower
²D4v	H21*	Cupid at center with man

²D5v	M03*	Woman with lute, man with hawk
²D6v	CU03*	Mixed group, window at center
²D8v	H05*	Couple upstairs, man with sword
²E1v	P16*	Couple, woman opens door
²E2v	H23*	Group fight, style 1
²E3v	H23a**	Group fight, style 2
²F4r	CU12*	Woman, man points finger
²E4v	H33*	Couple at left, couple in cloud at right
²E6r	H32*	Ship, mounted man, tower
²E8r	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
²F1r	CU04*	Cupid shoots arrow at woman
²F2v	CU03*	Mixed group, window at center
²F6r	O01*	Woman at window, men in street
²F7r	H34	King with men, three birds
²F8v	H35	Cupid crowns couple
²G2v	H21*	Cupid at center with man
²G3r	H36	Three dogs
²G6r	H37	Mixed group, window, tower
²G7r	H31*	Woman with Mercury
²G8r	CU04*	Cupid shoots arrow at woman
²H1r	CU12*	Woman, man points finger
²H3r	H31*	Woman with Mercury

*Used more than once

**Not included in Rawles's catalogue

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